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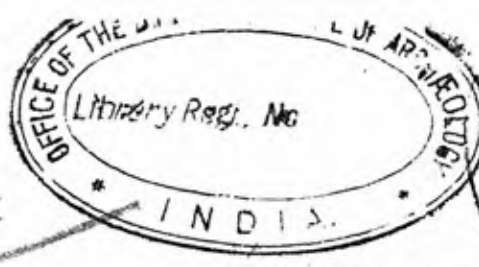
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THE ASHṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI.

*Containing Original Sūtras, Sanskrit Vṛttis with Notes and Explanations
in English based on the Celebrated Commentary called the Kāśī.*

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PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya-Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fulness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *vis.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done

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towards the logical development of the western intellect, the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary called the *Kāśikā*. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of *Kāśikā*, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the *Kāśikā* in the original.

The whole book will be completed in 32 parts and will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage, so that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White C. S., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for one or more copies.

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम् , यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः श्रूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाञ्; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मवद् भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words अत्रित, अतीत &c. and forms tatpuruṣa compound;' as, कष्टं अत्रितः = कष्टात्रितः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्तं कष्टं, अत्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and अत्रितं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth;' as, शंकुलया + खण्डः = शंकुलाखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुलया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ, वणि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, दारु देवदत्तस्य गृहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकोभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकोभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2. 8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not समर्थ, there is no composition: as भाव्या राज्ञः, पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेपु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, शक्तस्त्वमक्षेपु, शौण्डः पिवति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अग्रान् = इधग्रान्. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छन्नं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छन्न, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुचामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आमन्त्रिते,
पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुचन्तमामन्त्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणे कर्त्तव्ये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुचन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word पती 'O two lords!' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभस् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विर्वा यज्वरीरिषो द्रवत् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशना वृक्षन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीड्यमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

• Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्यः 'Garga is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As देवदत्त कुण्डे नाटन् 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here कुण्डेन has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word अटन्.

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udātta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्.' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudātta when it follows the word अहम् there intervening a word between itself and अहम्; as, अहम् कुण्डेनाटन्! Here kundena is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between अहम् and the vocative word अटन्.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, कूपे सिंचन् 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' चर्म नमन्. Here had कूपे and चर्म been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their स and न would have been changed into ष and ए respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus तीक्ष्णया सूच्या सीद्यन् 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' तीक्ष्णेन परशुना वृश्चन्.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As षष्ठ्यैरधीयान 'O thou reading loudly.' नीचैरधीयान.

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्,
समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिव्याम स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism kaḍa-rakarmadhāraye (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **यथा** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word **prāk** is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अव्ययीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह , सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च त्रयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् यदित ऊर्ध्वं मनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्रेदमुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words '**saha supâ**' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words *vis.*, **सुप्**, **सह**, **सुपा**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the sūtra would have stood thus: **सुप् सुपा** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

(1). **सह , सुप् , समस्यते समयेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from sūtra 2, **समस्यते** from sūtra 3, and **समयेन** from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुव्यचलन् अनुवाचयत**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as **samāsa**.

(2). **सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देवं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्यः** This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययी भावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानि कर्तृवन्मनुक्रमिण्यान् अव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayībhāva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like द्वि, त्रि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayībhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूढ्यर्थभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यूढि-अर्थभाव-अत्यय-असंप्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-यौगपद्य-सादृश्य-सम्पत्ति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यदव्ययं वर्तते तत् समयेन सुचन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्तते 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारि 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्यूद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवारिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas,' दुर्यवनं 'ill with the Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मलिकम् 'free from flies,' निर्मशकं 'free from mosquitoes.'
6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निःशीतं .
7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'
8. शब्दमातृभाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे
इति हरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादातम् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As अनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. यौगपद्यवचन;—As सच्चक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साकल्यवचन;—As सद्गणम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. अन्तवचन;—As सामि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्
सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथेच्छेत्तदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्तमानं सुपा सह समसयत्ने, ऽव्य०भा०वच्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathâ when it does
not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an *Avyayibhâva Samâsa*.

Thus *यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व* invite every old Brahmana. So also *यथाध्यापकम्*.

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As *यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यज्ञदत्तः* As is Devadatta so is Yajñadatta.

This samâsa could have been included in the last sūtra clause 10, but making a separate sūtra shows that the word *यथार्थवचन* there, must be limited by the present sūtra, to first three meanings of the word *यथा* given there and not to its fourth meaning. *viz.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावदवधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संशुपा अव्ययभासमास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्विद्येतदव्ययमवधारणे वर्त्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word *yâvat* when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhâva*.

The word *अवधारण* means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, *यावद् मत्रं ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व* 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots' : *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brâhmanas ; if six pots, then invite six Brâhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe *यावदन्तं तावद् भुक्तम्* 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अव्ययभासमाससह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्त्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुबन्तं समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayibhâva*.

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, शाकप्रति 'a little of vegetable,' सूपप्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युन् 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word sup was, by anuvritti from sūtra 2, understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अव्यय which began with sūtra 6 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा, (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' salākā 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and saṅkshyā 'numerals' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound formed is called Avyayībhāva.

This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called panchikā which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus अक्षपरि 'an unlucky throw of dice.' शलाकापरि, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also एकपरि 'an unlucky throw by one over' द्विपरि, त्रिपरि and lastly चतुष्परि. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमेण व्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word vibhāṣhā or option governs all succeeding sūtras.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like सुमद्रं, यथावृद्धं, अक्षपरि &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

**अपरिवहिरिच्छत्रः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः-
अञ्चयः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परि वहिस् अञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययी-
भावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayîbhâva*.

As *अपरिगतं वृष्टो देवः* or *अपरिगतं वृष्टो देवः* 'it rained away from Trigarta.' So also, *परिनिगतं* or *परिनिगतं* 'round about Trigarta,' *वहिरागम्* or *वहिरागम्* 'outside the village' *प्राग् ग्रामम्* or *प्राग् ग्रामात्* 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb *अञ्चु* 'to go,' are *उदञ्च* 'north' *प्राञ्च* 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpak*) that the word *वहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

**आङ् सूर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, सूर्यादा-अभि-
विध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येतन्मन्त्राद्यामभिविध्यौ च वर्त्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते,
अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *ân* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayîbhâva*.

As, *आपाटलिपुत्रं* or *आपाटलिपुत्रात्* *वृष्टो देवः* 'it rained up to Pataliputra.' *आकुमारं* or *आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः* 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

**लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिह्नं तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीराध्यावाभिमुख्ये वर्त्तमानौ विभाषा
समस्येते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is Avyayibhâva.

The word lakshana means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning lakshana'? Observe वृत्तं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards Srughna i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of Srughna but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words abhi and prati? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अभ्यङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणेन) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayibhâva.

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayibhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणेन अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, अनुगंगं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमनं मथुरा 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe वृत्तमनु विद्योतते विद्युत्.

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ;
च (अव्ययीभावसंज्ञा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुश्चादयः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययी-
भावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tishṭhadgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayibhāva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayibhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the *sūtra* is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayibhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु, वहद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खलेयवम्, खलेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, लूयमान-
यवम्, पूनयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहूतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहूतबुसम्, संह्रियमाण-
बुसम्, समभूमे, समवदाति, सुषमम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, आय-
तीसमम्, प्राह्णम्, प्ररथम्, प्रवृगम्, प्रदक्षिणम्, अपरवक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति,
पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इच्च कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. e. g. कचाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्ये, षष्ठ्या,
वा (संज्ञाविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayibhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds. The present *sūtra* ordains *Avyayibhāva* instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारंगंगम् or गंगापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगम् or गंगमध्येम् 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगायाः or मध्यं गंगायाः .

संख्या वंशयेन ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंशयेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशे भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुवन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case: as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् .

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradwājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनेः शब्देः सह संख्या समस्यते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार); as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पञ्चनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayibhâva.

The anuvritti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule: for no Name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्नत्तगङ्गा: 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also क्षोदितगङ्गम्, कृष्णगङ्गम्; शनैर्गङ्गम् II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe कृष्णवेणुः the 'river Krishnaveṇu.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe शीघ्रगङ्गादेशः 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञार्थक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहे, यानि त ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रामिष्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word Tat-purusha is the governing word, and is understood in all the following sūtras.

From this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra. This big term is of older coinage than that of Pāṇini, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the Tat-purusha compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The Karma-dhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 sūtras of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पंचराज V. 4. 91 fem. पंचराजो (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयः V. 4. 89, पंचगवम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतत्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सुखयासंख्यसह-तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुबन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिषु गमिगम्यादीनां मुखसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atita 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः. So also:—कान्ताररातीतः 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः 'gone to village.' तरंगारत्यस्तः 'passed the waves.' सुखप्राप्तः 'who has reached pleasure.' सुप्रान्नः 'who has obtained happiness.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; औदनं पुन्युक्तः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (संख्योत्सुख) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुबन्तं क्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धौतौ पद्मे 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाज्यम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in *kta* which is a *Nishṭhā* affix, are past participles.

खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (स०वि०त०क्तेनस०)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word *khatwā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *क्षेप* means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a *Nitya Compound*, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to *Optional Compounds*:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As *खट्वाकूटः* or *खट्वाद्रुतः* (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As *खट्वामाकूटः* 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his *Brahmachārya* i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All *Brahmachāris* were bound to sleep on ground and not on *खट्वा* or cots, so long as they were *Brahmachāris*. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, *खट्वाकूटः* 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (स०वि०त०सह क्तेन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सामीत्येतद्व्ययमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तस्य सन्त्ववाचिस्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संबन्धः सत् सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sāmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛitti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done,' *सामिरीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṃāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (संवि० त० सं० द्वितीयाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *कालाः* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sūtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काल* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रवितम्बन्याः* 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रात्रिस्संक्रान्ताः* applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *चर* and *अचर* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (संवि० त० सं० कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्त.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वराजकल्याणी, सर्वराजशोभना.

तृतीया तद्वृत्तार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, तत्-
कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (सर्वविशेषाद्युपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयान्तं सुबन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थशब्देन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुष, सुना are understood here: and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शङ्कुज्याखण्डः शङ्कुज्याखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case'? Observe अङ्गुष्ठा कानः 'blind of one eye.' Here अङ्गुष्ठा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality'? Observe:—गोभिर्वपावान् 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Guna-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā, or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥

पूर्व-सदृश-सम-ऊनार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (सर्वविशेषाद्युपासह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम ऊनार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयान्तं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिष्ववरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pûrva* 'prior,' *sadriśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *ânârtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuna* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *slakshna* 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this *sûtra*, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माशोनम्, माषविकलं 'less by a *māshā*,' भस्त्रिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' भोचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिजमिश्रः—गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with *sesamum* or *juggery*' भोचारनक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart :—The word *अपर* should be enumerated in the list, as मासापरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम्, (२० वि० त० तृती० २०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृ करणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit* affix; and the compound so formed is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहितः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्मिजः 'divided by the nails,' परगुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe निष्ठाभिरुषितः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in *sûtra* II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe शस्त्रेण कूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परगुच्छिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गजे चोपकः.

कृत्परिधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिक-अर्थ-वचने,
(संवि०तृ०कर्तृकरणे०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्या तृतीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने
गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्प्यतोर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेयानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वलेष्टः कुपः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). वाष्पच्छेद्यानि तृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसन्धेय ओदनः.

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and एयत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तस्य, अनीय, यत्, क्यप्, एयत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95-132). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तस्य as in काकैः पातक्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (संवि०तृ०-
तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि तृतीयान्तनञवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as दध्नोदनः = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरोदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण , मिश्री-करणम्
(स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि तृतीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं. As गुडधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery,' गुडशुक्राः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी ,
तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतेः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन निरयसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च यक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुव , सुवा are understood in this sūtra: and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As द्यूपाय दारुः = द्यूपदारुः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्ध्रनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' अवहननायोन्मुखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थं is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see, VI. 2. 45.

Vart :—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmanas ;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुबेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' अश्वहितं 'what is good for horses' गोतुल्यं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , भयेन , (स०त०वि०सु० सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भीति भीति रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृकोभ्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' हस्त्यभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart :—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः , वृकभीतिः , वृकभीः .

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अधर्मं जुगुप्सुः .

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अपत्रस्तैः , अल्पशः , (स०वि०त०सु०पञ्चमीस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवेत अपोढ मुक्त पतित अपत्रस्त इत्येतैः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ ; अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word **अल्पशः** 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—**मासादात् पतितः**, 'fallen from the mansion. **भोजनादपन्नस्तः** 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

**स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोक-
अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (स०त०वि०सु०पञ्चमीसह) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतसहस्रौ परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dūra 'far,' and also the word krichchhra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As **स्तोकान् मुक्तः** 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also **अन्तिकादागतः** 'come from near' **अन्त्यादागतः** 'come from near' **दूरादागतः** 'come from far,' **विमल्लुष्टादागतः** 'come from a distance.' **कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः** saved with difficulty. **कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः** 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words **शत** 'a hundred' and **सहस्र** 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word **पर**. As, **शतात्परः** = **परशतः** 'beyond a hundred.' So also **परसहस्रः** 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word **शत** and **सहस्र** being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of **राजदन्त** &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment **स** (**सु**) interposed between these two words.

**सप्तमी शौण्डैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शौण्डैः (स०त०-
वि०स०सु०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words **śaundā** 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word शौण्डैः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saundā.

As, अक्षेष् शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड, 15 भन्ध, and 16 समीर.

सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैः,
च, (संततविंससप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धे इत्येतैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकायसिद्धः 'perfect in sânkāśya.' काम्पिल्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kāmpilya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (संततविंश-
सुप्तसप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गन्धमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvāṅksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थध्वाक्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थध्वाक्ष-
स्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (संतत-
सुप्तसप्तम्यह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a *kritya*-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the *kritya* affix यत् and not to every *kritya*-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संवत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहर्देयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word कृण्वे we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरभ्येयोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the alms that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०म०स०
सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सत्प्रत्ययान्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samâsa.

A *sanjñâ* is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (*nitya*) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येनापाः, वने किंशुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेविष्यकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3. 9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः,
(स०वि०त०स०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्रवयवाश्च सत्प्रत्ययान्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the afternoon.' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night.' अपररात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अहनि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संध्यावर्जितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (सञ्चितसप्तसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.' तत्रकृतम् 'done there.' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (सञ्चितसप्तसह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतरेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

So also उदके बिशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसंमितादपञ्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे, संमित-आदयः, च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसंमितादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्कारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अवटकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डकः, 10 उदपानमण्डकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पितृशूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गोहेशूरः, 17 गोहेनर्षीः, 18 गोहेद्वेडी, 19 गोहेविजिती, 20 गोहेव्याडः, 21 गोहेमेही, 22 गोहेवाही, 23 गोहेदृषः, 24 गोहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेदृषः, 26 आखनिकवकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेपदः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेभिरिष्टिः, 34 कर्णेशुरुचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलाः समानाधिकरणेन,
(स०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केवल इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pūrvakāla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purāṇa 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrvā-kāla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates ; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नातानुलिप्तः 'bathed and perfumed,' कृत्समीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled,' दग्धमरुदम् 'burnt and healed,' एकशाटी 'having one petticoat,' एकमिक्षा 'begging once in a day,' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods,' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men,' जरद्विस्ती 'old elephant,' जरद्विगृष्टिः 'an old cow,' जरद्विवृत्तिः 'old occupation,' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice,' पुराणवसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम् ; नवावसथम् ; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शाटी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-संख्ये, संज्ञायाम् ;
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्वाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुचन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśami-in-the-east,' अपरेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukāmaśami-in-the-west,' पंचाम्नाः 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे, च (स०त०वि०दिक्संख्येस०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये दिक्संख्ये समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + भ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशालः (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttar-pade). As, पूर्व शालामिवः or अपरशालामिवः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पाँचनावितिः 'relating to five barbers.' पाँचकपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पंचगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' दशगवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पंचफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपुली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds.' पंचकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins;' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (स०वि०-तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुसंज्ञो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix अण् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1. 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावप्रियः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरुप्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + इच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचपूत्री. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः,
(सविंशत्युत्सहस्रं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितवार्त्थानि सुबन्तानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुष समासो भवति ॥

53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचि; 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरण 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedāṅga,) nor the person who studies it i. e., the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus:—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसूचि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खंसूचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसूचिः.

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणधौरः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commenced in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' मीमांसक-दुर्वृत्तः 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. कुत्सितोन्नामणः 'the bad Brāhmaṇa' &c.

पापणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः ,
(स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्ते कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्येते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and anaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) ; by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As पापनापितः or अणकनापितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलालः 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-
वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna' and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus वनश्याम कृष्णः 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्येनी 'lily-white.' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding' न्यग्रोध-पारिमंडला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadatta' or फला इव सन्तुलाः 'the rice are like fruits' पर्वता इव बलाहकाः 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रःदिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०उपमानानिस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपमितं तद्वन्ति सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामर्थ्याद् उपमानवचनैः सह समस्यते,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवाचि शब्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषस्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखरमम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. वृत्त = A bear. 4. वृषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull.
8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. वरु = A tree.
11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुरु = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. मुखपद्मम् | } | A lotus-like face. |
| 2. मुखकमलम् | | |
| 3. करकिसलयम् | | = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. |
| 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः | | . |

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पल 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पल 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निरयसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कर्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमुरजं or नीलोत्पलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (संततविंसुसंत
समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व अपर प्रथम चरम जघन्य समान मध्य मध्यम वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (स०त०चि०मु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेण्यादयः सुबन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समाख्यो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रेण्यादिषु छयर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words śreṇī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛita 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चि (chvi). Thus अश्रेण्याः श्रेण्याः कृताः=श्रेणिकृताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are ākṛiti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (चि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or ऊक. 3. पग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्व = Name of Krishna or कुन्व. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. भ्रमण = Sraman or भ्रमण. 15. वशान्य = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कूपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured. 3. मव = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समास्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. इलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन, अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्चैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तेनान्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणाधिकारे शाकपार्थिवीनामुपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done,' भुक्ताभुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीता-पीतं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितानुदितं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशिक्षानशितेन जीवति, क्षिष्टा-क्षिशितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

भाकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीत.विपीत. 4. गतप्रशयागत. 5. यातानुयात. 6. क्रयाक्रयिका. 7. पुत्रापुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसौभुत. 3. अजातौल्बलि.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कर्षमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतैः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāraka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमनागः 'the serpent Susīma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिप्रश्ने वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकठः and कतरकालापः 'which of the two is katha, and which kālāpa?' कतमकठः and कतमकालापः 'which of these is katha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्न in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कतम has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कतरो भवतोद्भवत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधि-
करणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्रुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मद्राजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वक्त्रयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-गृष्टि-धेनु-वशा-वेहद्-वक्त्रयणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०त०-वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milk-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇî 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इभयोदा 'a young female elephant' इभयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदशिवत् कतेपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोमृष्टिः, गोधेनुः, गोवशाः, गोवेहत्, गोवधकपणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmaṇa who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापकः 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्सुहृदश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढि) words like मत्तल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्वमत्तल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमदच्छिर्वक्ता 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मत्तल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन- जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलत्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्सुहृदश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभि is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवाखलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववज्जिनः fem. युववज्जिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवज्जरन् fem. युवज्जरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या , अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यलवणं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' सदृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह समानाधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red,' कृष्णघावजः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः ,
(स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word *kumâra* 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words *śramanâ* 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

In this list of *श्रमणा* and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as *श्रमणा* , *प्रव्रजिता*, *कुलटा*, the word *कुमार* must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. *आध्यापक*, *अभिरूपक*, *पंडित* the word *कुमार* must also be masculine, because 'a *Prâtīpadika* denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, *कुमारीश्रमणा* and *कुमारश्रमणा* 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तापसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. आध्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः , गर्भिण्या ,
(स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादवाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word *garbhīṇī*, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

गोर्गर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' *अजागर्भिणी* 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—*कालाक्षी गर्भिणी* or *स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी* 'the pregnant cow called *Kālākshī* or *Svastimatī*.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe *ब्राह्मणी गर्भिणी* .

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः , च ,
स०त०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक .

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छात्र व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड. 4. यवनमुण्ड. 5. हस्ते-
गृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas. 6. पादगृह्य or पादगृह्य. 7. लाङ्गुलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य.
8. पुनर्धाय ॥ एहीडादयो अन्यपदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11.
एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया). 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता .
15. अपेहिस्वागता . 16. एहिद्वितीया . 17. अपेहिद्वितीया . 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया . 19.
एहिकटा . 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहटका. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा . 22. आहरकरटा .
23. प्रेहिकर्मा . 24. प्रोहिकर्मा . 25. निधमचूडा . 26. उद्धमचूडा . 27. उद्धरचूडा .
28. आहरचैत्रा . 29. आहर वसना . 30. (आहरसेना) . 31. आहरवनिता . 32.
(आहरवितना) . 33. कुन्तविचक्षणा . 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा . 35. उद्धरावसृजा . 36.
उद्धमविधमा . 37. उत्पन्नविपचा or विपचा . 38. उत्पन्ननिपता . 39. उद्यावचम् .
40. उद्यनीचम् . 41. आचोपचम् . 42. आचपराचम् . 43. निधमचम् . 44. निधमचम् .
45. अकिञ्चन . 46. स्नात्वाकाजक . 47. पीत्यास्थिरक . 48. भुक्तासुहित . 49.
प्रोष्यपापीयान् . 50. उत्पत्त्यपाकला or व्याकुला . 51. निपत्त्यरोहिणी . 52. निषण-
श्यामा . 53. अपेहिप्रपसा . 54. एहिविषसा . 55. इहपञ्चमी . 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि
कर्मणा बहुलमानीदृण्ये कर्तारं चाभिधाति . 57. जहिजोडः . 58. जहिजोडम् . 59.
जहिस्तम्बम् . 60. (जहिस्तम्बः) . 61. उज्जहिस्तम्ब or च्म्ब ; आरव्यातमारव्यातेन
क्रियासातत्ये . 62. अश्रुनोतपिबता . 63. पचतभृजता . 64. खादतमोदता . 65. खादत-
वमता . 66. खादताचमता . 67. आहरनिवपा . 68. आहरनिष्क्रा . 69. आवप-
निष्क्रा . 70. उत्पन्नविपचा . 71. मिन्धिजवणा . 72. कुन्धिविचक्षणा . 73. पचजवणा .
74. पचमकुटा .

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. अकुतोभयः. 2. कान्दिर्णकः. 3. कन्दिरीकः. 4. आहोपुरुषिका. 5.
अहमहमिका. 6. यदृच्छा. 7. एहिरेयाहिरा. 8. उन्मृजावमृजा. 9. द्रव्यान्तरम्.
10. अवश्यकार्यम्.

— O —

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०त०वि०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्व्याधिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादिकदेशवचनाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words *pûrva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word '*ekâdhikarapa*' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word '*ekadeśin.*' This debars the Genitive *Tat-purusha* compound ordained by *sûtra* 9; which would have placed the words '*pûrva*' &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नामैः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्व छात्राणामामन्त्रय 'invite the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (*adhikarapa*) is not unity (*eka*). But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The word '*ahna*' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we learn this by inference from *sûtra* VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमिदमेतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध *ardha* when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'; नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धं पशोर्वेदस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarapa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थेतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थे-तुर्याणि, अन्यतरस्याम्, (सन्तः वि० एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitīya, 'second,' tritīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sūtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally,' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं निष्ठायाः = द्वितीयनिष्ठा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9, we have निष्ठाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयनिष्ठा, चतुर्थनिष्ठा, तुर्यनिष्ठा.

Vart:—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As निष्ठा-
तुरीयं or तुरीयनिष्ठा.

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम्.

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-आपन्ने, च, द्वितीयया, (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त आपन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words *prāpta* 'obtained,' and *āpanna* 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekādhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविका) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः.

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना, (स०-वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्व्यहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, (समर्थःस०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अभ्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The न् of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart.—The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि त्वं ज्ञान्म 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नञ् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance'; as अग्राहणः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation,' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference' or 'distinction,' as अपटः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth'. (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अनुदरा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अप्राशस्त्य 'badness,' 'unfitness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीतिः 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषद्विल्यथ शब्दोऽकृदन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word *ishat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a *kṛit*-affix; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषद् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कङ्कः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषद्वज्रतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्वार्ग्यः; there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बलः 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a *kṛit* affix; that word may be compounded with such a *kṛit* word. Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a *kṛit*-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus इधमवधनः 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), पलाशशतनः 'Palāśadestroyer.

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 51, is a 'prātipadavidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vārtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स०-त०चि०सु०स०षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तस्यैव गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरजोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmaṇa's sacrificer.' क्षत्रिययाजकः 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि).

1. याजक . 2. पूजक . 3. परिचारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिषेचक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. अध्यापक . 8. उत्साहक or उत्सादक . 9. उद्भूतक .
10. होतृ . 11. भर्तृ . 12. रथगणक . 13. पत्तिगणक . 14. पीतृ . 15. हतृ .
16. वर्तक .

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmaṇa-caste.' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent.' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison त्र is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all.' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहाम् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वगृक्षा गौः 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्द्वारेणे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्द्वारेणे, (स०त०वि०सु०-
स०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्द्वारेणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*).

With this *sūtra*, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called '*nirdhāraṇa*.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नक्षीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधगानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by *sūtra* II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than *sūtra* II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See *sūtra* 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोक्तानम्, मधुनोक्तानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थे सद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थे सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरणे इत्येतैः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix *tavya*, or with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word '*ārtha*' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचम. 'fifth amongst the pupils;' छात्राणाम् दशम. (2) काकस्य काष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः शौक्ल्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तृप्तः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicatory त् (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यं 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the *sūtra*-composer

Pāpini.' We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1, 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो यः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समव्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As छात्रहसितं 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समव्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III. 4. 76); as इदमेषां यातम् 'here they have gone.' इदमेषां भुक्तम् 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि च या षष्ठी सा न समव्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashṭhi. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्वर्यो गवां दधोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते ओद-नस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचित्रा सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(संघट्टी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृचाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix तृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वृ are अक; such as ण्ववृल् or वृम् or वृन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आशिका 'your eating' भवतोऽगमिका 'your going in front.'

The affix तृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The तृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II. 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (संघट्टीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यो तृजको ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अपां सृष्टा 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of याजक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by कृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक; thus भोजनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सक्तूनां पायकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च निरर्थं षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛitti of the word 'na' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix कृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारणपुष्पग्रन्थायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखक 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोजनस्य भोजकः .

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (स०त०-नित्यसमर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह निरर्थं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अस्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवादयः कृडाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह निरर्थसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरसं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word *ku* 'bad,' the particles called *gati*, and the prepositions *pra*, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *ku* means 'badness or sin'; as, *कुपुरुषः* 'a sinful man'; (2) *Gati* (I. 4. 60) as, *उदरीकृतं* 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) *यद्वरीकरोति* ॥

So also with the words *प्र* &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or '*gati*'; as *दुर* meaning 'bad,' in *दुष्पुरुषः* 'a bad man'; so also *सु* and *अति* meaning 'respect' in *सुपुरुषः* 'honorable man'; *अतिपुरुषः* 'excellent man'; *आ* means 'a little' as *आपिङ्गलः* 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as *कोष्णं* or *कवुष्णम्* or *कवोष्णम्* 'tepid.' So also *दुष्कृतम्*, *अतिस्तुतम्* and *आचक्षुम्* ॥

Vart:—The words *प्र* &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus *प्राचार्यः* 'a hereditary teacher'; so also *प्रान्तेवासी*.

Vart:—The words *अति* &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As *अतिक्रान्तः खट्वाम्* = *अतिखट्वा*: (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' *अतिमालः* 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words *अव* &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as *अवकुटः कोकिलया* = *अवकोकिलः* 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring.

Vart:—The words *परि* &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as *परिज्ञानोऽध्ययनाय* = *पर्यध्ययनः* 'weary of study.' *अलंकुमारिः* 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words *निर्* &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as *निकौशाश्विः* 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; so also *निर्वाराणसिः*.

Vart:—A word enters into composition with *इव* 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as *वागर्थादिव* 'like a word and its meaning,' *वाससीद्व* 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of *प्र* &c., when they are '*Karma pravachaniya*'; as *वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्* 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' *साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति* 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (स०त०-
नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe
इधानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvritti of the words सुप् भुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāṣha also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारको पपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासबन्धनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kāraṅkas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kāraṅkas also. Thus अश्वक्रीती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा = अश्व क्रीत; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अमैवाठययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अठययेन (स०त०-
नि०स०उपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अठययेनोपपदस्य यः समासः सोऽमैव भवति नान्येन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुन् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word only is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुन् come after a verb when the words अग्ने, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुन्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अग्नेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because अग्नेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अग्नेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतिन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि अन्यतरस्याम् (स०त०उ०अमैवाव्ययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदशब्दतृतीयायामिरयतः प्रभृति दान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवाव्ययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपवंशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपवंशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीड or पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् द्योते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāṣhā may therefore be called both प्राप्ता and अप्राप्ता vibhāṣhā. It is प्राप्ता with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्ता with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा, च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्य-
न्यतरस्याम् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह द्वितीया प्रभृतीन्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix *ktvâ*; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्यते कृत्य or उच्यते कृता . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1. 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम्, अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारपदश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिस्तीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिवक्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्रातमुदकं ग्रामं = प्रातोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊदरयोऽनङ्गान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहृतपशुरूद्रः 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्धृतोदना स्थाली 'a vessel in which rice is placed.' चित्रगुण्डवत्तः 'Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse:—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेन सुलभाजिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पञ्चभिर्मुक्तमस्य .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrīhi; as उच्चैर्मुखः 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थितः कालोऽस्य = कण्ठे कालः 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिनीलः 'who has hair on his chest.' उष्ट्रस्य मुखमिव मुखं यस्य सः = उष्ट्रमुखः 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुखः 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrīhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संचातः = केशसंचातः, केशसंचातभूङ्गाऽस्य = केशचूडः 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽङ्गकारोऽस्य = सुवर्णङ्गकारः 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also प्रपलाशः .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अवियमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभाष्यः 'wifeless.'

Vart:—Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणो 'a Brāhmaṇ having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

संख्यया, अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः, संख्येये, (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या वर्तते तथा सहाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपद्मः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नदशः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरदशः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकदशः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्वित्राः 'two or three.' द्विदशः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brāhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पंच. Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशतिर्गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि, अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले बाध्यते समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंल्लिङ्गः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakshina-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1, 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as दक्षिण + पूर्वा = दक्षिणपूर्वा ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन, इदम्, इति, सरूपे (सञ्चहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तम्यन्ते सरूपे पदे तेनेति च तृतीयान्ते इदमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समस्यते सञ्चहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words, both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्ध; as केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = केशाकेशि (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कचाकचि 'hair against hair'; दण्डैश्च-दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave;' so also मूशलामूशली. In the above examples the samāsānta āffix इच् is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Aavyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हलैश्च मुपलैश्च प्रहृत्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्.

तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्ययोगे, (सञ्चहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्येतच्छब्दरूपं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति तृतीयान्तेन सः समस्यते सञ्चहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकरः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहेव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपत्नकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य गौगवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स०अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुचन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *vis.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षाम्द गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following वृक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = वृक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खदिर-पलाशाः, वाक्कुचम्, वाग्दृषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, (स०उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (दन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. अपेक्षणम्. 3. निववासितम्. 4. नममुषितम्. 5. सिक्तसं-
मृष्टम्. 6. मृष्टलुब्धितम्. 7. अवहृन्नपक्रमे. 8. अर्पितोत्तम्. 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्). 10.
उत्तगाढम्. 11. उल्लुखलमुसलम्. 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम्. 13. वृषतुपलम्. 14. आरुद्धा-
यनि. 15. (आरुग्यायनबन्धकी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकिम्. 17. अवन्त्यग्रमकम्. 18.
शूद्रार्थम्. 19. स्नातकराजानौ. 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिभुवम्. 22. दारगवम्.
23. शब्दार्थौ. 24. धर्मार्थौ. 25. कामार्थौ. 26. अर्थशब्दौ. 27. अर्थधर्मौ.
28. अर्थकामौ. 29. वैकारिमत्. 30. गाजवाजम्. 31. (गोजवाजम्. 32. गोपालि-
धानपूजासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूजासम्). 34. पूजासकारणम्. 35. (पूजासककु-
रणम्). 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूजासम्). 38. उशोरबीजम्. 39. (जिज्ञास्थ).
40. सिञ्जास्थम्. 41. (सिञ्जाश्वत्थम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति).
44. भार्यापती. 45. इप्सती. 46. जम्पती. 47. जायापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49.
पुत्रपशू. 50. केशश्मश्रू or श्मश्रुकेशौ. 51. शिरोविजु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53.
शिरोजानु. 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी. 55. मधुसर्पिणी. 56. आद्यन्तौ. 57. अन्तादी.
58. गुणबृद्धी. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, चि, (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे च्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara.' So also पटुगुप्तौ and मृदुगुप्तौ. Where there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पटुमृदुगुक्ताः or पटुगुप्तमृदवः.

Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपटुः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम्,
(स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुष्वनियमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽप्यजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उष्ट्रखरम् 'the camel and the ass,' उष्ट्रशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्रयात्राः.

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजायन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायु. Here अग्नि and वायु though चि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे.

अल्पाक्षरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाक्षरम्, (सद्वन्द्वे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षरं शब्दरूपं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वमथोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभ्यर्हितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातृभ्यश्च ज्येष्ठस्य पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अल्पीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus श्लक्ष + न्यग्रोध = श्लक्षन्यग्रोधो ; and धवखदिरपलाशाः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखकुन्दुभिर्वीणाः or वीणाशंखकुन्दुभ्यः.

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; चित्रास्वाती ; कृत्तिका रोहिण्यौ.

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as धीमवसन्तौ.

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशकाशं; शरशादम्.

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' अज्ञाने च 'faith and intelligence' दीक्षातपसी 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद् शुद्राः 'Brāhmaṇa Kshatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna.'

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्वित्रा 'two; and three'; त्रिचतुरा 'three and four.'

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी , विशेषणे , बहुव्रीहौ , (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा प्रियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गङ्गादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठेकालः 'who is black in the throat.' So also उरसिलोमा , चित्रगुः , शवजगुः .

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्वेतः , सर्वकृष्णः , द्विशुक्रः , द्विकृष्णः . In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्व्यन्यः , त्र्यन्यः &c.

Vart:—The word प्रिय may optionally stand first; as गुडप्रियः or प्रियगुडः .

Vart:—After the words गङ्गा &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गङ्गुकण्ठः 'a hump-necked'; गङ्गुशिराः &c.

How is then the word वह्नेगङ्गुः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

निष्ठा , ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा , (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishthâ (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकठः 'one who has made the mat'; निक्षितनिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गजम्भी, मासजातः, and सुखजातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishthâ or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्त्युद्यत 'ready with sword'; इण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

आहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोज्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitâgni and the like, the Nishthâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्निः . 2. जातपुत्रः . 3. जातदन्तः . 4. जातश्मश्रुः . 5. तैलपीतः .
6. घृतपीतः . 7. मद्यपीतः . 8. ऊढभार्यः . 9. गतार्थः .

आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. गडुकण्ठः . 2. अस्त्युद्यत् . 3. (अस्त्युद्यतः) . 4. इण्डपाणिप्रभृतयोऽपि .

This आहिताग्नि class is ākṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍārah, 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार . 2. गडुन . 3. खज्ज . 4. खोड . 5. काण . 6. कुण्ड .
 7. खलति . 8. गौर . 9. वृद्ध . 10. निक्षुक् . 11. पिङ्ग . 12. पिङ्गल . 13.
 (पिङ्गल) . 14. तड्ढ . 15. तनु . 16. जडर . 17. बधिर . 18. मडर . 19.
 कज्ज . 20. बर्बर .

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being attributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कडार-
 पुरुषो ग्रामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । पदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमिण्यानोऽनभिहित इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes तिङ्; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कृत, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृत्यते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृतः कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतम् or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः. Similarly by samāsa, as माहशुदकं ग्रामम् = माहोदको ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारके या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयवर्तसेः कार्यो षिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ।

द्वितीयाऽन्ते द्विताम्येषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभितः-परितः-समया-निकषा-द्वा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of *सुप्* affixes. कर्त करेति 'he makes the mat,' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.'

The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, चिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधो, अधश्चि, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Sometimes other cases also, as उभयतो ग्रामं 'on both sides of the village'; सर्वतो ग्रामं 'on all sides of the village'; धिदेवदत्तं 'fie to Devadatta'; उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् 'just over the village'; अधश्चि or अधोऽधो ग्रामम् 'just below the village.'

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round', समवा, निकषा both meaning 'near', and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अभितो ग्रामम् 'round the village,' ग्रामं समवा 'near the village'; हा देवदत्तं 'woe be to Devadatta'; दुपुहितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः, छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोतिः कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the *chhandas* (*veda*), the object of the verb *hu* 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix, and by force of the word च 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or यवायुग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he throws barleypowder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते, (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते निपातो चाद्वयार्थे दृश्यते । आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antarā*, or *antareṇa* takes the second case-affix.

The *anuvṛitti* of *dvitīyā* is understand here and not that of *trītiyā*. Both these words *antarā* and *antareṇa* are *Nipātas*. They govern the accusative. This debarb the genitive case. The word *antarā* means 'between' while *antareṇa* means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.' As, अन्तरेण पुरवकारं न किञ्चित्कथ्यते nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण त्वां च नां च कर्मद्वयः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' जोऽन्यस्त्वां नां तरेण शक्तः प्रतिकर्तुं च 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तद्वशित्वां पाटलिपुत्रं च नस्य प्राकारः .

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः, अत्यन्त-संयोगे, (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽध्वन्यशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्ति र्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे शब्दप्रयोगे ॥

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं काश्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' कोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' कोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos,' शभा वैश्रवणी राज्ञः शतयोजनमायता 'O king the hall of Viśravana is 100 yojanas in length.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or कोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे, तृतीया, (कालाध्वनो रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे शब्दप्रयोगे कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' कोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेषानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतेऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ,
कारक-मध्ये, (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यौ कालाध्वनौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. अद्य भुक्ता देवदत्तो द्वादशे द्वादशाभिला 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थोऽयमिच्छावः क्रोधात् क्रोधे वा लब्धं विधेत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos., Here kos is the interval between the agent and the object or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule 1. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-
युक्ते, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachaniya (I. 4. 83).

Ex. आकलयस्व संहितानुप्रायर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Sākalya.' So also आगस्त्वमप्यसिंचत् मजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्माद्-
अधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. उपलार्पाद् द्रोणः 'A Droṇa is more than a Khāri,' अपिब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicate that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, अप-आङ्-
परिभिः, (कर्मप्रवचनीयसु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतेः कर्मप्रवचनीयेष्वेभिः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachaniyas i.e., apa, āṅ and pari.

Ex. अप or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रादाद्दृष्टो देवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pāṭaliputra.

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here इव परि विद्योतते विद्मुत् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-
प्रतिदाने, च, यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीयसु पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरक्षुण्णतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' भाषानश्चैतिलेभ्यः प्रतिपद्यति 'he exchanges māśhās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान.

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्या चेष्टायामनञ्चनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥
गत्यर्थ-कर्मणि, द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्या, चेष्टायाम्, अनञ्चनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां भावनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिरूपदक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकोऽण्ववर्तिते द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्या भवतः

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place to which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हरिं वृजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' अश्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not so in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in कश्यपे वृजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note.—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. I. 68) as पथान्, गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.

Note.—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as पथे गच्छति.

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तादृश्यं उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्लृप्संप्रदानाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन चाप्यने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 32.) the fourth affix, or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the teacher' दिवदत्ताय रीचते 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as वृषाय दाह 'wood is for making posts.' कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring.' रन्धनाय रूपाक्षी 'pot for the sake of cooking.' श्वहननायोलूखलं 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart.—The verb क्लृप and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, मूत्राय कश्यते यवाग्नः 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also मूत्राय संप्रदाते जायते वा यवाग्नः.

Vart.—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

बाताय कपिला विद्यु दातपायाति क्षोदिनी ॥

पीता वर्षाय विद्येया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart.—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word हितः as गोभ्योहितं 'good for cows.'

**क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-
अर्थ-उपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्थानिनः, (चतुर्थी) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारके चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthāni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there-with another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyārthe III. 3. 10.).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nval' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलंभ्यो वृत्रति = फलंभ्यादु वृत्रति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debars the accusative case. So also we have दधेभ्यः वृत्रति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थोपपदस्व and स्वानिः are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrihi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyārtha).' Thus in दधानादु वृत्र 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आदु वृत्र is क्रियार्थोपपद, the object of this verb is दधः when this verb is suppressed, it becomes स्वानिः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action? Observe प्रविश पिंडीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness दधेभ्यो वृत्रति यत्तटेन 'for fuel he goes with a cart.'

Why do we 'when suppressed? Observe दधानादु वृत्रति.

तुमर्थोच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थोभाववदनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकारुचतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun. III. 3. 11) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. दद्याय वृत्रति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = ददु वृत्रति. So also दद्याय वृत्रति, भूतये वृत्रति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'means' having the same significance as the affix दध्.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वहास्वधा-लंघयोगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-अलम्-लघ-योगात्, च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा ललं लघ दत्येतेष्वेते चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words *namah* 'salutation,' *savasti* 'peace,' *svâhâ*, *svadhâ* (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), *alam* 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and *vashaṭ* a term of oblation.

Ex. नमो देवेभ्यः, स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्ने, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अलं नरलो नरलाय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; 'svâhâ to fire'; 'svadhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word अलं includes its synonyms also, as प्रभुः, यत्नः &c.; so वषट्प्राय, वषट्प्राये.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as स्वस्ति नोभ्यो भूषात् ॥

सत्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्य-कर्मणि, अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राणिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्ति भवति अनादरे गण्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ 'यदेतदप्राणिष्विति तदनावादिष्विति यत्तद्व्यञ्ज्यम् ॥

17. In denoting [the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb *manya* 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न त्वां दुष्यं दुष्याय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' न त्वां दुष्यं दुष्याय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word मन्ये? Observe न त्वां दुष्यं चिन्तयामि. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्यति. So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य with the vikarāṇa रयञ्, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi नञ्; for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां दुष्यं मन्ये.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative, as :—

अस्मान् दुष्यं मन्ये, मन्ये काष्ठमुत्तलम् । अस्मावास्तं दुष्यं मन्ये यस्य माता न पश्यति ॥

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood, I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न त्वां शृगालं मन्ये 'I do not consider thee even as a jackal.' The case of न त्वां दूने मन्ये is an exception.

Vart :—Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये, never in the Dative:—नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' पक्ष 'parrot,' and शृगाल 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोः स्तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने मकृत्वादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' दात्रेण क्षुणाति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also यद्यदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परद्वुना क्षिणाति ॥

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. मकृति 'original,' माय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्वित्राण, पंचक and शाहल as मायेण दात्रिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण भावति, द्वित्रादेन क्षीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽग्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अग्रधाने (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहाय्येन युक्तेऽग्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण साद्रे 'with the son'. So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 हृदो युना &c.

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण सहापाठ्या-परमगोः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गेनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्षया काक्षः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खङ्गः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुपटः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चित्प्रकारं माह इत्थंभूत, स्वस्यलक्ष्यनिर्णयं भूतलक्षणं, ततस्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

21. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.' अपि भवाद् कनकदलुना छात्रपट्टाचीद् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamaṇḍalu.' So also छात्रेयोपाध्यायश्च 'a teacher by the fact of having students.' शिखया परिव्राजकश्च 'a Parivrājaka by a tuft of hair.' But not so here, कनकदलुपाणिहस्तः 'a student has kamaṇḍalu in his hand.' Because here in the compound, कनकदलुपाणि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say ittha-bhuta? Observe वृत्तं प्रति विद्योतनं.

संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-ज्ञः, अन्यतरस्यां, कर्मणि, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वस्य जानातेः कर्मणि कारके द्वितीयायां प्राप्तायाप्यन्यतरस्यां तृतीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

22. After the verb sam-jñā the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पिता or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.' भाषा or भातरं संजानीते ॥

हेतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतौ, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलशाधमयोऽयः पदार्थो लोको हेतुश्चयते; तद्विचिनस्तृतीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

23. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्याया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame.' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्यया योः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I. 4. 55). Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called hetu.

अकर्तृयुक्ते पञ्चमी ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्तरि, ऋणो, पञ्चमी, (हेतौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जितं यद्वृणं हेतुस्ततः पञ्चमी विभक्ति भवति ॥

24. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

Ex. चत्वारिंशद्दशः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe *यतेन बन्धितः*; 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here *यत* being considered as a *prayojaka* *hetu*, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, गुणे, अस्त्रियाम्, (हेतौ पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे विभाषा पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

25. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of an action, and not being of the feminine gender.

Ex. *जाडघने जाडघतात् वा बद्धः* 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness.' *पांडित्येन* or *पांडित्याद् युक्तः* 'saved through learning.'

Guna-vachana nouns are generally abstract nouns. Therefore not here *घनेन कुतश्च*. If an abstract noun is of feminine gender, this rule will not apply, as *बुद्ध्या* or *मत्तया युक्तः* 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill or wisdom.'

षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोग ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, हेतु-प्रयोगे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुप्रयोगस्य प्रयोगे हेतौ दोत्ये षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

26. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word *hetu* is used along with such a word.

Ex. *अन्नस्य हेतौ भवति* 'he dwells for the sake of food.'

सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनाम्नः तृतीया, च, (हेतुप्रयोगे) (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्ने हेतुप्रयोगप्रयोगे हेतौ दोत्ये तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति षष्ठी च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तकारणहेतुषु सर्वाणां प्रायदर्शनम् ॥

27. After a *sarvanāman* (I. 1. 27) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word *hetu* is used with it, the third case-affix is employed, as well as the sixth

Ex. *कस्य* or *केन हेतुना भवति* 'for the sake of what does he live?' *यस्य* or *येन हेतुना भवति* ।

Vart :—When the words *निमित्त* or *कारण* are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed ; as *किं निमित्तं* or *केन निमित्तेन* or *कस्यै निमित्तात्* or *कस्मादनिमित्ताद्* or *कस्य निमित्तस्य* or *कस्मिन् निमित्ते भवति*. Similarly with

the words *kāraṇa* and *hetu*. Here also the word *हेतु* does not mean the word-form *hetu* (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as *किं प्रयोजनं* or *केन प्रयोजनेन* or *कस्मै प्रयोजनाय* &c., चरति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्ति भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने स्वप्नलोपे कर्त्तव्यपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे आपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मरणाख्यानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्वाहं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तदनु स्मरणकाले पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अध्वनः प्रथमा पञ्चमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the *Apādāna-kāraka* (I 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. *ग्रामादागच्छति* 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); *सूक्तोक्त्या निवेति* (I. 4. 25), *अध्ववनात् पराजयते* (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart :—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in *स्वप्* is elided; as *प्रासादनाक्षमेवते* = *प्रासादात् मेवते* 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart :—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, *आसने उपविश्य मेवते* = *आसनात् मेवते* 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart :—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—*कुतो नवागच्छसि? पाटलिपुत्राद्* 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra'

Vart :—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—as, *गवीधूमतः चांकारश्च चत्वारि योजनानि* 'Sankāśya is from Gavidhuma four yojanas.' *कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे* 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as *मासे*

Vart :—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as *गवीधूमतः चांकारश्च चत्वारि योजनानि* or *चतुर्षु योजनेषु* .

अन्यारादितरत्तदिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥

अन्य--आरात्-इतर-अन्ते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्चु-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर अन्ते दिक्शब्द अञ्चुत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतेषां पञ्चमी विभक्ति भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or pite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्यान्तरं, विलक्ष्यो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आरात् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, but this enjoins 5th case-affix. अन्ते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् षष्ठ्यन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer' प्राक् मरुत्या ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा दक्षिणादि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also दिक्प्रत्ययः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the next sūtra does not come after them.

षष्ठ्यन्तर्यप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अन्तर्यप्रत्ययेन ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्येन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अन्तर्गुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, foremost, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनपान्तरस्यानङ्गरे पङ्क्त्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामश्च ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विनः-नानाभिः, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येते योगे द्वितीया दिभक्ति र्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words prithak 'without', vinā 'without' and nānā 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex. रामाद्रामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्. By this arrangement we can read dvitīya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्म त्वमपतनं विना ।

विना इस्ति कृतान्दोषान् केनेमी पातितो दुमी ॥

करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
करणे, च, स्तोक्-अल्प-कृच्छ्र-कतिपयस्य, असत्त्ववचनस्य, (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोक् अल्प कृच्छ्र कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकेऽन्यतरस्यां द्वितीया भवति पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kāraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kṛichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकाद् स्तोकेन वा मुक्तः and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्तः &c, 'he got off easily' &c. But स्तोकेन विषेण इतः, अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकां मुचति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोक् is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण).

दूरान्तिकार्यैः षष्ठीऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्ति-
क-अर्थैः, षष्ठी, अन्यतरस्याम्, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्यैः शब्दैरेणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. when in conjunction with words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विमकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अभ्यासं, निकटं ह्यनीयं वा 'the forest is distant from or near, or to the village.'

The force of the word *अन्यतरस्यां* is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्योद्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदायि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-अर्थेभ्यः, द्वितीया, च, (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमीद्वितीयापि अनुचर्यते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of *dūra* 'distant,' and *antika* 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात्, or अन्तिकेन अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य.

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पश्याः, दूराय पशे देहि.

सप्तम्यधिकरणे, च, ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, अधिकरणे, च, (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने कस्येतिपदस्य कर्तव्यमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शब्दवशाधुनयोगे च सप्तमी यक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कारकाद्दर्शनां वा कारकत्वे सप्तमी यक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारकाद्दर्शनां वा कारकत्वे सप्तमी यक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी यक्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तात्कर्तव्ययोगे सप्तमी यक्तव्या ॥

36.. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. फटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्वाह्वां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अभीतिद् 'who has learnt,' एहीतिद् 'who has comprehended;' i. e., words formed by adding इद् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अभीती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar.' परिगणिते यज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites,' आह्वाप्ती ऋग्वि 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words चापु and अचापु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरि चापुर्चापु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु दरिद्रा आसते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' दरिद्रेषु आसीनेषु ऋद्धाभुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हति, दंतयोर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।

केयेषु चमरीं हति शोभि पुष्कलको इतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, for chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम्, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhāva) of whatsoever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दूधमाणासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दुग्धमाणागतः 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु हुयमानेषु गतः, हुतेष्वागतः .

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभिः च भुङ्क्ते. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते च देवदत्तः .

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, च, अन्-आदरे, (सप्तमी, भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसहस्यो विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदतिवा प्राज्ञाजीम् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English word 'notwithstanding' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., रुद्धाः पश्यन् रुव इताः पश्यतो राघवस्य 'the

Nandas were killed like 30 many beasts Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति दायाद साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतेष्वेतेष्वेति षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety,' and prasūta 'begotten'.

गवो गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोष्वधिपतिः, गवां दायादः or गोषु दायादः, गवां or गोषु साक्षी प्रतिभूः &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुशलो निपुणः ताभ्यां येन आसेवायां गन्धमानायां षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words Ayukta 'engaged,' and kusala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरवे कटकरवस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making.'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौ यकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्वारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्वारणम्, (षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्वारणं ततः षष्ठीसप्तमी विभक्तीभवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुवीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk.; मनुष्याणां or मनुष्येषु वज्रियः शूरतमः .

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी, विभक्ते, (यतय निर्द्धारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाक्ये विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागे विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलि-पुरेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pâtaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां, अर्चायम्, सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्चायां सप्तम्यानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत्, प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good,' and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्हृष्योराधः 'the servant is good towards the king. Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि, अत्र &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्देवदत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च, ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां, तृतीया, च, (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' कोपैः or कोपेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (तृतीया सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुषन्तान्नक्षत्रशब्दात् तृतीयासप्तम्यो विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पावसमग्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV 2. 5. So also नचाभिः पल्लोदनं नचाभु पल्लोदनम्. But not so here पंचालेव वसति 'he lives in Panchâla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe नचाभु ग्रहः 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in खदपुष्यः, खदकृत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातपादिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचन मात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominalstem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कुंठ 'owl,' प्रोषः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as droṇa, khâri, âḍhaka &c. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

संबोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संबोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामो, हे रामाः ॥



साऽऽमन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सऽऽमन्त्रितम् (सन्बोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने वा प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति ॥

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2. 78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः, (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथम) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in *रङ्* or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as *हे राम* ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वानिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining case, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. *राजः पुरुषः* 'the king's man' *पशोः पादः* 'beast's foot' *पितुः पुत्रः* 'father's son.'

ज्ञोऽविदर्यस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्यस्य, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञानातेरविदर्यस्याज्ञानार्यस्य करणे कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb *ज्ञा* jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. *मधुनो जानीते* 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also *सर्विषो जानीते*. The verb *ज्ञा* when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in,' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहतोवा. Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थदयेशां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थ-दय-ईशां, कर्मणि, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थाः स्मरणार्थाः । दय दानगतिरवशेषः । ईय ऐश्वर्यं । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. नातुः अध्येति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते, 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणाभीष्टे 'he can not rule his limbs,' But not so here नातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that नातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

कृजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, प्रतियत्ने, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतिः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गन्धमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue (I. 3. 32).

Ex. ह्योदकस्योपस्फुटते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, च is inserted).

When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कटं करोति.

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also ह्योदकस्योपस्फुटते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां, भाववचनानाम्, अज्वरे, (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां अज्वरिर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

भार्तिकम् ॥ अज्वरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict', with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (*i. e.*, when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. *चौरस्य व्रजति रोगः* 'the disease afflicts the chief' *चौरस्यानवति आनयः* ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe *नदी कुलानि व्रजति* 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here *चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः* 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb *संतापयति* is used, *चौरं संतापयति तापः* ।

The word *येष* is also understood here. Thus *चौरं व्रजति रोगः* ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथं नाथं याज्ञोपतपैश्वर्याग्नीषु पठयते, तस्याग्नीः क्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेषेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb *nâth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. *नधुने नगते* 'he blesses the honey.' But *माणवकुमुपनायति*, अंग पुत्री-कापीष्व 'he solicits *mānavaka* saying (child) son, study.' Here *नाथ* does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिग्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निग्रहण-नाट-क्राथ-पिषां, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निग्रहण नाट क्राथ पिष् इत्येतेषां धातूनां, हिंसा क्रियायां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs *jâsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, *nâṭ* 'to injure,' 'krâth,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योज्जासयति, *निग्रहन्ति*, *निहन्ति*, *प्रहन्ति*, *प्रणिहन्ति*, *उन्नाटयति*, *क्राथयति*, *पिनिहति* वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *जसु* belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not *Divâdi*. *हन्* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रष्* takes in the causative *vṛiddhi* irregularly. The verb is *Bhvâdi* and falls into the subdivision *ghatâdi*, and is called there a *निद्* verb; all *निद्* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *चिप्* (VI. 4. 92). Thus *क्राथ* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानाः पिबति 'he pounds the barley.'

The word येव is also understood here as चीरमुज्जासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चीरं दिनस्ति, चीरं विदन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः, समर्थयोः (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahri and pan when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes| hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix ञ्वाप्? It takes ञ्वाप् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c Not so here शलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणां पणयते 'he praises the Brâhmanas.' The word येव is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्मण्यष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य दीव्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58 The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in a hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vibhâga when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvṛitti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्गे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपसर्गे, (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

location is not meant: as द्विरङ्गो भुक्ते. The शेष being understood we have द्विरङ्गवधीते.

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, कृति ।
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतप्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1.93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kālidāsa.' आहता क्रतूनां 'the performer of sacrifice.' So also भवतः श्राविका 'your turn of lying down.' अपां खट्वा, पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता. But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकटं. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिर्वस्मिन्कृति शेषपुन्यप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आद्यध्वो नवां देहाऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.' रात्रौ मे द्योदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन. 'The eating of rice by Devadatta pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्जिदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्देवैरिष्टा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनवाचाट्वेन आचार्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on words by the āchārya' बबिताहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Pāṇini.' Apte.

कृतस्य च, वर्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृतस्य, च, वर्तमाने
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नपुंसके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ येषविद्यानाद् विद्वत् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राजां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमते नदीपते: 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Varṭ:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as नट्टस्य नृत्तं 'the dancing of a peacock' ह्यालस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the student', कोकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम्.

This sūtra debars sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः, च, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडिकरणे चेति वदयति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As इदमेवमावासितम् 'this is their seat,' इदमेवां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in कृत-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताऽश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः, 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक्त-अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम्, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक्त अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थ तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उक्त प्रतिषेधे कनेर्भाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तामुक्तपुनोऽप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः यदुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ, or उक्, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a Noun of agency formed by हुन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + उक् = लोक .

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i.e., the Present Participles in यद्, यान् (III. 2. 124), कान् (III. 2. 106) क्वप् (III. 2. 107) कि and क्ति (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पेचानः or पेचिवान्, पचिः सोमन्, इदिगीः ॥

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुक्षुः ॥ The prohibition applies when a word ending in इच्छुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामलंकरिच्छुः ॥

3. The affix उक् is ordained by III. 2. 154 : as आगामुकं वाराणसी रज आहुः ॥

Vart :— But the word कामुक in the classical Sanskrit, governs the Genitive, as दास्याः कामुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुक्त्वा ॥

Vart :— This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तेजुन् (III. 4. 16) and कजुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्योदेताराधेयः पुरा क्रूरस्य विवृषो विरप्सिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishthā i.e., क्त and क्तवु; as ओदनं भुक्तवान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by खल्य affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता .

7. The हुन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the हु of यद् (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of वृन् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes यान् (III. 2. 128), कान् (III. 2. 129), यद् (III. 2. 130) and वृन् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पचमानः, नटमाचनानः, अधीयद्, पारायणम्, कर्ता कटान्, वदिता जनापवादान् ।

Vart :— Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix यद्, as, चौरं or चौरस्य द्विपन् ॥

अक्रेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ययोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इनीः, भविष्यद्-आधमर्ययोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितस्त्वेनस्तु भविष्यति चाधमर्यं च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in **अक** denoting futurity, or in **इक्** denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix **अक**, such as **एवुल**, **बुञ्** &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix **इक्** such as **णिनि** (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus **कटं कारको वृजति** 'he goes to make a mat.' **ओदं भोजको वृजति** 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with **इक्**, as **ग्रामंगमी** or **गामी** he has to go to the village.' **शतं दायी** 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe **बषानां सावकः** 'the cutter of barley.' **वक्तॄणां पावकः**, **अवरयं करो कटस्व** ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following **वर्षयतस्य पूरकः**, **पुत्रपौत्राणां दर्शकः**? The words **पूरक** and **दर्शक**, though formed by **अक** (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that **अक** which denotes futurity, viz., III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter **अक**, and not every **अक** in general.

कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्षणि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्ती कृत्ये षष्ठया प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (*kṛitya*).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (*kṛit*-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agent only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus **भवतः** or **भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः** (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As **मेघो मानवकः साक्षात्** ॥

Vart:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus **क्रुह्यता ग्रानं शाखा देवदत्तेन**, **नेतव्या ग्रामनजा देवदत्तेन** ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः शब्दैरेण तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, षष्ठे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to or resemblance'; excepting **तुलं** and **उपमा**

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, यद्वयो देवदत्तेन, or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुल्य and उपना the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुल्य देवदत्तस्य नास्ति, उपना कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of च was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words तुल्य and उपना can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां, यदातेति दत्तवाचसा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नभसा तुलां समारोह (Raghuvamsa VIII. 15). स्फुटोपनं भूतिचित्तेन यंभुना (Māgh I. 4).’

चतुर्थी आशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
चतुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतर-स्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यन्मनानावात् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतेयोगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पायुक्त्यर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रायुष्यादीनां पर्यायशब्दश्च कर्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ bhadra ‘good fortune,’ kuśala ‘welfare,’ sukha ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Varṇi:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चित् जीवितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरानयं, सुखं, यं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पर्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended’? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओ३म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चगव्यं 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपत्नी (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपत्नीयं योदना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः, च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्यङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वति, तथातूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादश्च 'the hand and foot' शिरःशिर्यं 'the head and neck' गार्दभिकपाण्डिकश्च 'players on the mridaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्चरोहश्च 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' वीथामादकपरिवादकश्च, रथिक-
पादादश्च ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses, &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।
(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्ववति अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्थेतेरद्वयतन्वां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools When the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâdâ.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इङ् only; as उद्गात् कठकालापम् 'kâṭha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यद्यात् कठकौशुमम् 'kâṭha and kauthuma established again.

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उद्गुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यद्युः कठकौशुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इङ् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्दिषुः कठकालापाः and उद्वयन्ति कठकालापाः

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iṅ in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is. 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युः, ऋतुः, अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वयति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधश्च 'the Arks and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रश्च 'the Sâyâhna and Atirâtra sacrifices.

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda'sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्रो 'the Iṣhu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्वलभिदौ ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूय-
वाजपेयो 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासी ? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule, does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टारूपाणाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि-
प्रकृष्ट-रूपाणाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन ये शानविप्रकृष्टा प्रत्यावृत्ता आरूपा तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वयति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकश्च 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so, also क्रमकवार्तिककश्च.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैद्याकरो 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वयति, प्राणिनो ऋज्विस्त्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus **आराधस्त्रि** 'the probe and the knife'; **धानाद्यक्लि** 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe **नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यी** 'Nandaka and Pāñchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living'? See **ब्रह्मण्यश्त्रियो** "Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas."

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (**द्रव्यजाति**) and not the jati names of qualities and actions. (**गुणक्रियाजाति**). Thus **रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शः** 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; **गमनाकुक्षनमसारणानि** 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jati names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, **इदं कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति** 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words **जाति** 'genus,' **द्रव्य** 'substance,' **गुण** 'quality' and **क्रिया** 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion, and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्वगो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus **गंगायोगक्ष** 'the Ganges and the Sona.' **कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं** 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' **उद्ध्यैरावती कुरुक्षेत्र जाह्नव** ॥

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe **गंगायमुने** 'the Ganges and the Yamuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also **नर्मदेकपा** ॥

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटपशुभे 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town? See जाम्बवशालुकिन्यो 'Jāmbaba and Sālukini, which are the names of two villages or grama.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने the Kailasa and the Gandhamadana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathurā and Patali-putra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

सुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वचति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus घृहालिङ्ग 'the louse and the nil'; दंशमयकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word सुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called सुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mon-goose are kshudrajanu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां यद्द्वानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वचति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity: and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, भार्जरीमुषकम् 'the cat and the rat'; खड्गुनालम् 'the dog and the jackal'; अश्विनकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालङ्कायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupali and Salankayana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds.

Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमद्विपश्च. 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकश्च 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अनिरव-
सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्रवाचिनां शूद्रानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तक्षायस्कश्च 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतनुवायश्च 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvasita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतापाः 'the Chandala and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वपृभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि । गवाश्व-पृभृतीनि, (एक-
वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वपृभृतीनि कृतैकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वश्च 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकश्च.

गवाश्वादिः

1. गवाश्वश्च. 2. गवाविकश्च. 3. गवैडकश्च. 4. अज्जाविकश्च. 5. अजै-
डकश्च. 6. कुञ्जवामनश्च. 7. कुञ्जकैरातकश्च. 8. पुत्रपौत्रश्च. 9. श्वचण्डालश्च.
10. स्त्रीकुमारश्च. 11. दासीमाणवकश्च. 12. शाटीपिण्डकश्च. 13. उष्ट्रश्च. 14. उष्ट्रयश्च.
15. भूत्रयकृत्. 16. भूत्रपुत्रीयश्च. 17. यकृन्नेदः. 18. नांसशोषितश्च. 19. दर्भशश्च. 20. दर्भपुत्रीकश्च. 21. अर्जुनश्रीयश्च. 22. तुषोलपश्च.
23. दासीदासश्च. 24. कुटीकुटश्च. 25. भगवतीभागवतश्च.

Vart :—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वश्च or गोश्वी. In this form of गो and अश्व the next 'rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्ववडव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (६०९०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृक्ष मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववडव पूर्वापर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां द्वन्द्वो विभाषैकवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुप्रकृतिः फलसेना वनस्पतिमृगशकुनिपुद्गजन्तुधान्यतृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds *aśva-vaḍava*, *purvā-para* and *adharottara*, are optionally singular.

12. Thus, *प्लक्ष्यग्रोषम्* or *ग्रहण्यग्रोषाः* 'the *Plaksha* and the *Nyagrodha* trees'; *रुरुपृषतम्* or *रुरुपृषताः* 'the *Ruru*-deer and the spotted antelopes'; *कुशकाशम्* or *कुशकाशाः* 'the *Kuśa* grass and the *Kāśa* grass'; *ब्रीहिवन्* or *ब्रीहिवन्वाः* 'the rice and the barley'; *दधिपुत्रम्* or *त्रे* 'the curd and the butter'; *गोमहिषम्* or *वाः* 'the cow and the buffalo'; *तित्तिरिक्पिञ्जलम्* or *लाः* 'the *Tittiri* (a kind of partridge) and the *Kapinjala* birds'; *अश्ववडवम्* or *वाः* 'the horse and the mare'; *पूर्वापरम्* or *रे* 'the first and the last'; *अधरोत्तरम्* or *रे* 'the upper and lower.

Vart:—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, *बदरामलके तिवृताः* 'a *badari* and an *āmalāki* fruit are here'; *रविकाशारोही* 'a charioteer and a horseman'; *प्लक्ष्यग्रोषी* 'a *Plaksha* and a *Nyagrodha* tree'; *रुरुपृषतो* 'a *Ruru* and a *Prishata* deer'; *हंसचक्रवाकी* 'a *Hansa* and a *Chakravaka* bird'; *पूकालिषे* 'a louse and nit'; *ब्रीहियवो* 'a *brihi* and *yava* grain'; *कुशकाशो* 'the *kuśa* and *kāśa* grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा ६० एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामप्रत्ययवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति विभाषादुक्त्यर्थे लुकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus *शीतोष्णम्* or *शीतोष्णे* 'cold and heat'; *सुखदुःखं* or *सुखदुःखे* 'pleasure and pain'; *जीवितमरणम्* or *जीवितमरणे* 'life and death.'

The word *विप्रतिषिद्धं* means words of contrary significations, *च* indicates the *anuvṛitti* of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कामक्रोधी 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (दृ०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipaya' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्नधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी. 2. सर्पिर्नधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी. 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती. 4. शिव-वैश्वनी. 5. स्कन्दविद्यापी. 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकी. 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदी. 8. शुक्ल-कृष्णी. 9. च्छमायर्हिणी ॥ निपातनाद्दीर्घः ॥ 10. दीक्षातपसी. 11. अद्वातपसी. 12. नेपातपसी. 13. अध्ययनतपसी. 14. उत्सूखलमुससे. 15. आदावसाने. 16-अद्याने. 17. श्रुक्साने. 18. बाङ्मनसे.

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एता वत्वे, च, (न दृ०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्त्तिपदार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्त्वे परिमाणे गण्यमाने द्वन्द्वौ नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of concrete things (adhikarna) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोद्ग्राः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमार्दङ्गिकापाणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika playērs.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैता-वत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकव०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपदशं दन्तोद्घा' or उपदश दन्तोद्घा: 'nearly ten i.e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपदशं नार्दङ्गिकापाणविकम् or उपदश नार्दङ्गिकापाणविका: nearly ten (nine or eleven) mridaṅga and panava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayibhava compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayibhava, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bhuvrīhi compound. As, उपदशं; उपदशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायनेकवद्भावे विहितः स नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तेऽस्य उपदेशो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽवृत्तः स्त्रियाभिष्टः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अतो नलोपश्च वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दशगवश्च 'an aggregate of ten cows'; पाणिपादश्च 'hands and feet, गिरोग्रीवश्च 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only; as पञ्चगव्यं, दशगव्यं.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चतन्त्रम् or पञ्चतन्त्री.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अच्, is optionally feminine and the च is elided; as पञ्चतन्त्रम् or अञ्चतन्त्री.

Vart:—A Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्गव्यम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

अठ्ययीभावश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अठ्ययी भावः, च, (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अठ्ययीभावश्च समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यपुण्यदिनाभ्यामहः स्त्रीवर्तेष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चः संख्याव्यापारेः स्त्रीवर्तेष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषेण चानां कर्मेत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An *Avyayibhāva* (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, *अश्विनि* 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, *उपकुमारि*, *उन्मत्तगन्ध* &c.

But for this rule, an *Avyayibhāva* compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of *च* is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word *अद्भुत* preceded by *पुण्य* or *शुदिन*; as *पुण्यादृष्ट* 'sacred day'; *शुदिनादृष्ट* 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word *पच* is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an *Avyaya*; as *त्रिपच*, *चतुष्पच*, *विपच*, *सुपच*.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as *मृदु पचति* 'he cooks mildly,' *शोभनं पचति* 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनङ्कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नङ्कर्मधारयं च अङ्गयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्यतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A *Tat-purusha* compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle *nañ*, and of the *Karmadhāraya* compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following *sūtras*.

This is a governing *sūtra*, and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a *Tat-purusha* may be neuter. Thus, *ब्राह्मणसेनम्* or *ना* (II. 4. 25); but *दृढसेनो राजा* (the compound not being *Tat-purusha*); *असेना* (it being a compound with *नञ्*=*अ*); and *परमसेना* (it being *Karmadhāraya*).

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु, (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20. When denoting an appellative, a *Tatpurusha* compound ending with the word *kanthā* 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the *Uśīnaras*.

As, सोमनिकन्यम् 'the town of Sauśami'; आह्वरकन्यम् 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरवकन्या. So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnaras; as दाविकन्या.

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

**उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिरुयासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं, तद्-आदि-आचिरुयासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदद्याचिरुयासायां तयो
उपज्ञोपक्रमयोराचिरुयासायां गन्ध मानायाम् ।

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपसर्गकालापकं व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Panini's invention'; व्याधुपपदं दुष्करणं 'Vyadi, invened Dushkarapa'; आदयोपक्रमं प्रासादः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks'; नन्दोपक्रमणि मानानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपघो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिरसोकाः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bohtlingk gives पाणिन्युपसर्गकालकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Panini, (VI. 2. 14).

**छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये, (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छायास्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गन्धमाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyā 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, वृक्षमण्डावम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इडुकावम् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुम्भच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhaya has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजाननुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-सनुष्य-पूर्वा (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, वा चेद् सभा राजापूर्वा सनुष्यपूर्वा च भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As **हनुसभम्** 'the King's Court.' **ईश्वरसभम्** 'Lord's Court.'

But in **राजसभा** 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also **रक्षसभम्** 'the Court of the Rakshasas' **पिशाचसभम्** 'the Court of the Pisachas.'

But in **काष्ठसभा**, **दैवदत्तसभा** &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Rakshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च वा सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, **स्त्रीसभम्**, **दासीसभम्** 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise **अनाथसभा** 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

विभाषा, सेना-सुर-छाया-शाला-निशानाम्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śālâ 'house,' and niśâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhāraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनश्च 'the Brāhmana army,' यवसुरश्च, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुडपच्छायश्च, कुडपच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालश्च, गोशाला 'the cow house,' स्वनिशश्च, स्वनिशा 'to-morrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' परमसेना good army, the former being negative and the latter karmadharaya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14. 123.

परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्,
द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य परिलङ्गं तदुभयति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

बालिकश्च ॥ द्विगुमात्रपञ्चमालम्ब्यैव तिस्रमाशेषे प्रतिषेधो बलवत् ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कुक्कुटनृपयौविभौ 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' नृपयौकुक्कुटाविभौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhara Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्धपिप्पला, अर्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali: अर्धकोशतकी.

Var. २.—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with मात्र, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपालः 'Purodasa prepared in five cups'; मात्रजीविकः (मात्र + जीविका) 'has obtained living,' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशान्निः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववद्वयौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वद्वयौ,
(लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववद्वययोः पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word asva 'horse' and vadava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 12; in that case it will be neuter, अश्ववद्वयविभौ; अश्ववद्वयान्, अश्ववद्वयैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तेशिशिरावहोरात्रे च छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्ते-
शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तेशिशिरौ अहोरात्रे इत्येतयोश्च छन्दसि विषये पूर्ववल्लिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantasiśirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas, (vedas).

हेमन्तशिषिरावृत्तानां ग्रीवाणि, अहोरात्रे हृदं ब्रूयः ॥

This aphorism debars the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाद्वितयः, अपरपक्षाः पुरीषश्च, अहोरात्रासीदृकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights are bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe दुःखे हेमन्तशिषिरे, अहोरात्राविभौ उपयो. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह् नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह अह इत्येते पुंसि भाष्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compound ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsanta affixes. Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः, त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्ः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्वयः 'two days' त्रयः, 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः, संयुवाकः, युक्तावाकः &c.

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम्, नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word अपथम् 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथनिदश्च 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गच्छते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोदयः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi the word is masculine so; also अपथमपरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च,
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धर्चादयः यदा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यन्ते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As, अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चस् 'half a verse,' गोमयः and गोमयस् 'cow-dung.' These twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः or पद्मस् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शंखस् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतस् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्यवः or सैन्यवस् 'sail'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मस्.

1. अर्धर्च. 2. गोमय. 3. कषाय. 4. कार्पाषण. 5. कुतप. 6. कुसप.
7. (कुसप). 8. कषाट. 9. शङ्ख. 10. गृध. 11. भ्रूय. 12. च्वल. 13. कवच.
14. पद्म. 15. शृङ्ग. 16. सरक. 17. कंस. 18. दिवस. 19. भ्रूय.
20. अश्वकार. 21. दरड. 22. कनकल. 23. मरड. 24. भूत. 25. द्वीप.
26. दूत. 27. चक्र. 28. धर्म. 29. कर्मस्. 30. गोदक. 31. यतमान. 32. यान.
33. नख. 34. नखर. 35. चरक. 36. पुच्छ. 37. दाडिम. 38. द्विज.
39. रजत. 40. सक्त. 40. पिधान. 41. सार. 42. पात्र. 43. घृत. 44. सैन्यव.
45. औषध. 46. आढक. 47. चपक. 48. द्रोण. 49. खलीन. 50. पात्रिय.
51. चट्टिक. 52. बारवार. 53. (बारवारण) 54. मोय. 55. कपिटय.
56. शुष्क. 57. शाल. 58. शील. 59. शूक. 60. (शुक्ल). 61. शीतु. 52. कवच.
63. रेणु. 64. (शुष्क) 65. कपट. 66. शीकर. 67. सुसल. 68. सुवर्ण.
69. वर्ण. 70. सुर्व. 71. चमस. 72. शीर. 73. कर्म. 74. आकाश. 75. अष्टापद.
76. नङ्गल. 77. निचन. 78. निर्याव. 79. जृम्भ. 80. वृत्त. 81. पुस्त.
82. युस्त. 83. हवेडित. 84. शृङ्ग. 85. निगड. 86. (खल). 87. मूलक.
88. मधु. 89. मूल. 90. मूल. 91. शराव. 92. बाल. 93. वम. 94. विमान.
95. सुख. 96. मग्नीव. 97. मूल. 98. वज्र. 99. कटक. 100. कपटक.
101. (कपटक). 102. गिलर. 103. कलक. 104. (वटकल). 105. नटमक. 106. (नाटमस्तक).
107. वलय. 108. कुतुन. 109. वृत्त. 110. पङ्क. 111. कुण्डल.
112. किटीट. 113. (कुतुव) 114. अर्जुव. 115. अर्जुय. 116. तिनिर. 117. आश्रय.
118. भूषण. 119. हलकस. 120. (हलवास). 121. शुक्ल. 122. वचन.
123. तटाक. 124. (तडाग). 125. विटक. 126. विटङ्क. 127. विटङ्क. 128. पिरयाक.
129. नाप. 130. कोय. 131. फलक. 132. दिन. 133. दैवत. 134. पिनाक.
135. समर. 136. ह्यायु. 137. अनीक. 138. उपवास. 139. शाक. 140. कर्पाव.
141. (विद्याल). 142. चपाल. 143. (चलाल). 144. खरड. 145. दर.
146. विटप. 147. (रव). 148. (वल). 149. (नक). 150. मृषाल. 151. हल.
152. आर्द्र. 153. हल. 154. (सूत्र). 155. तापडव. 156. नापडीव.

157. मण्डप. 158. पट्ट. 159. वीध. 160. वेध. 161. पार्श्व. 162. शरीर.
 163. फल. 164. (फल) 165. पुर. 166. पुरा. 167. राष्ट्र. 168. अम्बर.
 169. विन्ध. 170. कुट्टिम. 171. मण्डल. 172. (कुकुट). 173. कुडप. 174.
 ककुद. 175. खण्डल. 176. तोमर. 177. तोरण. 178. मञ्जुक. 179. पञ्चक.
 180. पुङ्ख. 181. मध्य. 182. (बाल). 183. छाल. 184. वल्लीक. 185.
 वर्ध. 186. यल. 187. वज्र. 188. देह. 189. उद्यान. 190. उद्योग. 191.
 स्नेह. 192. स्तेन. 193. (स्तेन). 194. (स्वर). 195. संगम. 196. निष्क.
 197. चेन. 198. दूक. 199. सत्र. 200. पथित्र. 201. (चौवन). 202. (कलह).
 203. मालक. 204. (पालक). 205. मूषिक. 206. (मण्डल). 207. (वल्कल).
 208. कुज. 209. (कुञ्ज). 210. विहार. 211. लोहित. 212. (विषाण).
 213. भवन. 214. अरण्य. 215. पुलिन. 216. दृढ. 217. आसन. 218.
 घेरावत. 219. शूर्प. 220. तीर्थ. 221. लोमन. 222. (लोमण). 223. तमाल.
 224. लोह. 225. दण्डक. 226. शपथ. 227. प्रतिशर. 228. दाह. 229.
 धनुस्. 230. मान. 231. वर्चस्क. 232. कूर्च. 233. तण्डक. 234. मद.
 235. चहल. 236. ओदन. 237. मयाल. 238. शकट. 239. अपराह्ण. 240.
 नीह. 241. शकल. 242. तण्डुल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इदमः,
 अन्वादेशे, अथ, अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेशे विषयस्येदमो भवत्यनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvadeśa) there is the substitution of aś which is anudatta *i. e.*, gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (ādesa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अम् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvadeśa or repetition is implied. अम् replaces the whole of इदम् by 55 and not only the final इ. Anvadeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीतम् 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also.' The substitute अम् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 7 1.)

असौ छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, असौ असौ चाकटनपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्य छात्रस्य योग्यं शीलम्, असौ अस्य मङ्गलं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इनकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां रात्रिरधीता, असौ छात्र्यामहरप्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentences is not anvādeśa; it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here:—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्जदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्ः, त्र-तसौः
त्र तसौ, च, अनुदात्तौ, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतदोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अन्वादेशो भवति अनुदात्ततसौः परतः ॥ तौ चापि त्रतसौचानुदात्तौ भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10) and तसु (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes त्र and तसु are anudatta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतश्च 'hence' in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसानः; असौ अत्र युक्ता अधीनदे । 'We live in this (etasmīn) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राणां ह्योऽधीयन्, असौ अतो ज्ञाकरणमप्यधीयन् । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5. अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

द्वितीयाटौस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्सु, एनः,
(इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते)

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओश् इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोऽन्वादेशविषययोरेन इदमन्वादेशो भवति अनुदात्तः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओश् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudatta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word इदम् is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—
 इत्तं or एतं छात्रं हन्तोऽध्यापय, अथो एनं' उवाकरत्तमप्यध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also,' अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिरप्यिता
 'अथो एने नाह्मरप्यधीतम्' this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभनं श्रीलक्ष्, अथो एनयोः मभूतं स्वम् 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

Vart:—The word एनम् neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as, इदम् कुण्डमानम् मन्त्रालयेनम् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtra regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्ध-धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदित इदं चर्चमनुकनिष्यामस्तवार्द्धधातुकेवेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that वप् is the substitute of इप् when लिङ् follows.' The words 'when the affix is Ardhadhātuka' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the Ardhadhātuka लिङ् namely the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive mood, इप् is replaced by वप्, but not so in the Sārvadhātuka लिङ् i. e., the Potential mood (विधिलिङ्). Thus, Benedictive वध्याद् 'may he kill'; but Potential इव्याद् let him kill.'

The word आर्द्धधातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an Ardhadhātuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an ardhadhātuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any ardhadhātuka-affix to अच् 'to be,' we must first substitute वृ for it, and then take the proper ardhadhātuka-affix which would come with regard to वृ. Thus we can apply वत् to वृ by rule III. 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels वत् is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to अच् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have अवयच्. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but ardhadhātuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ल्यसि किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, ल्यप्-
ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदो जग्धिर्ल्यसि भवति ल्यप्ति परतः तकारादौ च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ल्यप् (VII. 1. 37) or an ārdhadhātuka किति affix beginning with त follows.

मज्जाभ्य 'Having eaten.' (म + अद् + ल्यप् = म + जग्धि + त). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्धि + त).

The ह in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न (नुह). So also the ह in जग्धि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = जग्धः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ल्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्धि for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्) in this rule, i. e., जग्ध would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and ल्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe अदस्ते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क्'? Observe अजग्धवत्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्त् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्त् (अदः,
आर्द्धधा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽदो घस्त् आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घस्त् आदेशच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्त् is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अजग्धत्, अजग्धतात्, अजग्धम् 'he ate.' The लृ in घस्त् is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for लृ of the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, जिघत्सति, जिघत्सतः जिघत्सन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Vart :- The verb अद् is replaced by घ् when the affix जग्ध follows. Thus म + अद् + जग्ध = मघ् + जग्ध = मजग्धः 'voracious.'

अजपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-अपोः, च, (अदः, घस्ल, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजि अजि च परतोऽदो घस्ल आदेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix अज् and अप् follow घस्ल is the substitute of अज्.

वाचः 'food, grass,' अज्+अज्=वाच+अ (III. 3. 19). मचरः 'voracity.'
म+अज्+अप्=म+मच.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं, छन्दसि, (अदः, घस्ल, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमदो घस्ल आदेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्ल is diversely substituted for अज्.

यस्तान्नमज् । सन्निधयने । (Yajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place; as आतानद सन्निधो मेव उद्भूतम्.

The word बहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

कृषिर् मवृत्तिः कृषिदमवृत्तिः, कृषिदविभाषा कृषिदस्यदेव ।

विषेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य, चातुर्विधं बाहुल्यकं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in यस्ताद् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, घस्ल, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति परतोऽदोऽन्यतरस्यां घस्ल आदेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्ल is optionally the substitute of अज्.

जवाच or आद 'he ate,' जवदुः or आवदुः 'they two ate,' जदुः or आदुः 'they all ate' The word जवदुः is thus formed:—अज्+अज्=अज्+अज्+अज्

(VI. 1. 8) = व + वृ + ञ्त्तु (VII. 4. 60) = व + वृ + ञ्त्तुः (VII. 4. 62) = व + वृ + ञ्त्तुः (VIII. 4. 53) = व + वृ + ञ्त्तुः (VI. 4. 98.) = वृत्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेजो वयिः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेजः, वयि, (लिट्यन्यतरस्याम्, आहुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेजो वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of 'वेज् to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेज्. Then we have regulary वे + लिट् = वे + वृत् = वयो. The roots in व, वे and वी are treated like roots ending in वा thus :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	
1.	वयो	वयिव	वयिव	} In this case samprasāraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40
2.	वयिव or ववाय,	ववयुः	वव	
3.	वयो	ववयुः	वयुः	

When however we take the base वृ, the व being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:— वृ + वृत् = वृ + वृ + ञ् (VI. 1. 8) = वृ + वृ + ञ् (VI. 1. 17) = ववाय; the व is not changed into वृ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वृ + ञ्त्तु = वृ + ञ्त्तुः (VI. 1. 15) = व + वृ + ञ्त्तुः (VII. 4. 60) = ववयुः. The affix ञ्त्तु being क्ति affix by rule I. 2. 5 there is samprasāraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have ववाय, ववयुः, वयुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before क्ति affixes व may be optionally substituted for व, i. e., ववयुः or ववयुः and वयुः or वयुः.

हनो वध लिटि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, वध, लिटि (आहुः धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वधहृत्पदानादेशो भवति लिटि परत आहुःधातुके ॥

42. वृ is the substitute of वृ 'to kill' when the Ardhadhātuka लिटि (Benedictive) follows.

वध्याद् 'may he kill,' वध्यास्ताद् 'may they two kill,' वध्यातुः, 'may they all kill.'

The substitute वृ, ends with short अ|this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthānivat I. 1.-56), in forming the Aorist, वृत्, we have वृ + ० + वृत् = वृवृत्. Here zero being sthānivat prevents the vridhhi of अ of वृ which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि, च (हनो, बध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हनो बध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, च् is the substitute of ह्.

अवधीत् 'he killed,' अवधीताच् 'they two killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-
तरस्याम्, (हनो, बध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु नित्ये प्राते विकल्पे वक्ष्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां च इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, च् is optionally the substitute of ह् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus आबधित् or आहत्; आबधिवाताच् or आहवाताच्; आबधित or आहत्.

The verb ह् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28) By sūtra I. 1.14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after ह् and by VI. 4. 37 the न् is elided before कित् affixes then by VIII. 2. 27 the च् is elided. Thus आह् + विच् + त = आहत्.

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इरावदिक इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root ह् when लुङ् follows.

अगात् 'he went' (II. 4. 77) अगाताच् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went.' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though is anuvṛiti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, ना being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगामि भवता you, went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved अ + गा + विच् + त =, अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—ना is the substitute of ह् 'to remember' in the Aorist as it is of ह्. Thus अन्वगात् 'he remembered.' अन्वगाताच्, अन्वगुः. The root ह् belongs to Adâdi class.

शौ गनिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौ, गमिः, अबोधने,
(इच्छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौ परत इच्छोऽबोधनार्थस्य गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix *णि* (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of *इच्छ* when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going'.

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But *प्रत्याययति* 'causes to believe.' *अभिगमयति*. The *इ* of गमि is for articulation. So also *इच्छ* to 'remember'; as, *अभिगमयति* ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि, च, (इच्छः, अबोधने,
गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इच्छोऽबोधनार्थस्य गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when *च* (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of *च* when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

'*जिगमिषति* 'wishes to go' *जिगमिषतः*, *जिगमिषन्ति*. But *अर्थाद् प्रतीचिषति* 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with *इच्छ*, as *अभिजिगमिषति*. The *yogavibhāga* indicates that the *anuvṛitti* of *च* only runs in the next *sūtra* and not of *णि*. The form is thus evolved in the *Parasmaipada*; *च* + *गम्* = *गम्* + *गम्* + *च* (VI. 1. 9) = *ग* + *गम्* + *च* (VII. 4. 60) = *च* + *गम्* + *च* (VII. 4. 62) = *च* + *गम्* + *इच्छ* + *च* (VII. 2. 50) = *जिगमिष*, and then we add the personal terminations.

इच्छश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छः, च, (सनि, गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छश्च सनि परतो गनिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of *इच्छ* 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when *च* follows.

अभिजिगमिषते, *० चेते*, *० चन्ते* 'he wishes to study.' The root *इच्छ* is always preceded by the preposition *अभि*. This will be *Atmanepadi* by 1. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58. and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् लिति ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्, लिति, (इच्छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङादेशो भवतीको लिति परतः ॥

49. गच्छ is the substitute of वृ when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गच्छ would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, वृ. Why has then this वृ been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra 1. 2. 1. गच्छ there should mean this substitute गच्छ and not the verb गच्छ 'to go.'

Thus we get अभिजगते 'he studied'. अभिजगते, अभिजगतिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

विभाषा लुङ्लङ्ङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लुङ्लङ्ङोः (इङः, वि, गच्छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लुङि च परत इङो विभाषा गच्छदेवो भवति ॥

50. गच्छ is optionally the substitute of वृ when लृट् (Aorist) and वृश् (Conditional Future) follow,

Let us take the case when गच्छ replaces वृ. The affixes of लृट् and वृश् are treated as क्त्वि by 1. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an ardhadhatuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क् or क्त्वि follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed वृ and of ग, ह्या, ग, पा, हा, वी), we get अच्यगीच्छ (अचि + अ + गी + क्त), अच्यगीयाताम्, अच्यगीयत. In the alternative we have अच्येह, अच्येयाताम् and अच्येयत.

So also in लृट्; as अच्यगीयत, अच्यगीयेताम्, अच्यगीयन्त, or in the alternative, अच्येयत, अच्येयेताम् and अच्येयन्त.

शौ च संश्चङ्ङो, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौ, च, सन्-चङ्ङो, (इङः, गच्छ, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौ सन्परे चङ् परे च परत इङो विभाषा गच्छदेवो भवति ॥

51. गच्छ is optionally the substitute of वृ in the causative लि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chan (Aorist.)

अभिजिगापयिषति or अच्यपिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved : ग + लिच् = गपि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सच्. अच्यगीयपद् or अच्यपिपद् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus वृ + लिच् = आ + लिच् = आ + प् + वृ = अपि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.

अस्तेभू ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्पातोभू इत्ययमादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb अस् 'to be,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

भविता 'he will be,' भविद्वच् 'in order to be,' भवितव्यच् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, आस आसतुः आसुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sūtra is explained by taking the term कृञ् in III. 1. 40 as a Pratyāhāra including कृ, भू and अस्, and if अस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyāhāra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रुवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवो वचिःपादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any Ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुच् 'in order to speak.' The व् of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as कचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

वक्षिङः ख्याञ् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वक्षिङः, ख्याञ्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वक्षिङः ख्याञ्पादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वक्ष्यादिःख्ययमादेश इच्छते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संवाक्यद्रोरोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याञ् is the substitute of वक्षिङ् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुच् 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यच् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, वक्षिङ् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याञ् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter ञ् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याञ् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.

Vart :—This substitute is also said to begin with क् instead of ख. Thus आक्याता, आक्यातुप्, आक्यातव्यं.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion'; as दुर्जनाः संघट्ट्याः bad men should be excluded.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes ख and अन follow : as नृचवा राक्षसः the Rākshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit; modern नृचवः. The meaning of the root च् here, is 'to injure.' So also विचवणः परिहृतः; here the affix is अन.

Vart :—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अन्नम् 'food' (here the substitute त्रिषि does not replace अद्); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for ह् before पतुल्); गार्त्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for ह् before the unâdi affix ट्); विचवणः (here च् is not replaced by ख् before अन); अनिरम् 'a court yard' (here अन is not replaced by ख् as the next sūtra 56 requires.)

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (दक्षिणः, रुद्राङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतद्ध चिङः रुद्राङादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. रुद्राङ् is optionally the substitute of चिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The लिट् also is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and by the last sâtra रुद्राङ् would always have been the substitute of च्; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as आचखयी, आचखयतुः and आचखतुः. In the alternative we have आचवहे, आचवहाते and आचवहारे 'he told &c.

अजेर्व्यञ्जपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः वी, अघञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्पातोर्वीत्ययमादेशो भवत्यार्द्धधातुके परतो घञपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञपोः प्रतिदेशे व्यप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वल्गादावर्द्धधातुके विकल्प इष्यते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अञ् 'to drive,' to lead,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes चञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रवायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीयः.

Why do we say 'with the exception of चञ् and अप्'? Observe सप् + अञ् + चञ् = सप्ताञः society; उदाञः 'driving out:' So also with अप्, as सप्तञः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c., उदञः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like प्रवीताः &c.

Vart :—Prohibition must also be stated (along with वञ् and अञ्) of the affix ववप्, as वनञ्या 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart :—The substitution is optional before ārdhadhātukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyâhâra (all consonant except य) as मवेता or माजिता मवेतुञ् or माजितुञ्. See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजे: वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यौ परभूते अजेर्वा वी इत्यवसादेयो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of अञ्, when the affix वृ (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix रुद्रट्, the word वृ in the Sūtra referring to this affix; as, मवयवः or माजनो दण्डः 'driving stick or whip.'

ययक्षत्रियार्थजितो यूनि लुगणिजो ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यय-क्षत्रिय-
आर्थ-जितः, यूनि, लुग्, अण्-इजोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यवाप्तात् यत्रियगोत्रात् आर्पादजितश्च परयोःक्षत्रिभूतिं लुग् भवति ॥

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्राद्यक्षगोत्रमात्रा द्युवमत्ययस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix वय (IV. 1. 151) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory ञ्, the affix अञ् and इञ् employed in forming वुवञ् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लुग् ॥

1. Thus by sūtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix वय comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendent) we get कुरु + वय = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इञ् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इञ् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix किञ्. Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.) To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of तिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding वय under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikâdi word is formed by adding वय under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix अण् may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family, is a Kshatriya family, and स्वफल्कः is a person of that family. Then $\text{स्वफल्क} + \text{अङ्} = \text{स्वफल्कः}$ 'a descendent of Svaphalka' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have $\text{स्वफल्क} + \text{इङ्}$. Now this इङ् must be elided by the present sūtra. So that स्वफल्कः means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word वसिष्ठः ; and $\text{वसिष्ठ} + \text{अण्} = \text{वसिष्ठः}$; the Yuvan affix इङ् will similarly be elided after his; and thus the word वसिष्ठः means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory ञ् . Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix अञ् comes after the words विद् &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus $\text{विद्} + \text{अञ्} = \text{वैदः}$; Then add इङ् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have $\text{वैदः} + \text{इङ्}$. By the present rule this इङ् is elided and thus we have वैदः both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix इङ् . Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अण् . Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix फिञ् comes after the words तिक् &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus $\text{तिक} + \text{फिञ्} = \text{तैकायनिः}$ (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add अण् by IV. 1. 83. Thus $\text{तैकायनि} + \text{अण्}$. By the present sūtra, this अण् is elided, and we have तैकायनिः both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:—'The affix अण् comes after शिव &c., in forming Gotra.' $\text{कौहड} + \text{अण्} = \text{कौहडः}$. Now this is neither a word formed by पय nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix इङ् will not be elided after this. Thus $\text{कौहड} + \text{इङ्}$ (IV. 1. 95) कौहडिः 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed: $\text{वामरथ} + \text{पय} = \text{वामरथ्यः}$ 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add अण् by IV. 2. 111. Thus $\text{वामरथ्य} + \text{अण्} = \text{वामरथ्यः}$ 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अण् and इङ् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of दाक्षि (grandson of दक्ष) will be दाक्षायक्षः Here the affix कक् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart :—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as वीरिः applies equally to father and son; जाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; औदुम्बरिः father, औदुम्बरिः son; माण्डोवक्येः father, माण्डोवक्येः son. Here, first इङ् is added by IV. 1. 173, then कक् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this कक् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-शिजोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

59 And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुग् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + अक्ष = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + किञ् (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix किञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इङ्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. शात्यकि. 4. शात्यकानि. 5. राह्वि. 6. राह्वि. 7. औदञ्जि. 8. औदञ्जि. 9. औदनेचि. 10. औदक्यञ्जि. 11. औदमञ्जि. 12. औदभृञ्जि. 13. दैवस्यानि. 14. पैङ्गलावनी. 15. राह्वति. 16. भीलिङ्गि. 17. राक्षि. 18. औदम्यि. 19. औद्राह्वानि. 20. औञ्जिह्वान. 21. औदयुङ्गि. 22. तद्राक्षायक्षः. 23. तद्राक्ष.

इजः प्राचाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इजः, प्राचाम्, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इङ् तद्राक्षायक्ष इत्यस्य लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इङ् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागर + इङ् = पान्नागरिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara'; after this the Yuvan affix कक् (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागरिः is both the father and the son. So मान्दरेषणिः father and son. The word प्राचाम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prāchyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षिः and दाक्षायक्षः 'son of Dākshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (यूनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix कक् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौल्वलि. 2. चारलि. 3. पारलि. 4. रावलि. 5. दैलीपि. 6. दैवति. 7. वार्कलि. 8. नैवति. 9. नैवकि. 10. डैवनित्रि. 11. दैवमति. 12. दैवयति. 13. चाकटकि. 14. वैल्वकि. 15. वैकि. 16. वैङ्कि. 17. आनुहारति. 18. आनुरादति. 19. पौष्करादि. 20. आनुरोदति. 21. आनुति. 22. प्रदोदति. 23. नैनित्रि. 24. प्राडादति. 25. वान्धकि. 26. वैशीति. 27. आसिनावि. 28. आदिनि. 29. आनुरि. 30. नैनिपि. 31. आसिबन्ध कि. 32. पौष्प. 33. कारुणपाति. 34. वैकर्णि. 35. वैरकि. 36. वैदति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजस्यस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. 1. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अङ्ग + अङ् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गाः the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अङ् is elided by present rule, and the Vriddhih vanishes with it too (I. 1. 63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवाङ्गः 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vaṅga,' there being no elision.

यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रेः (बहुषुः तेनैवास्त्रियाम्ः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्क इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेदगोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अञ् = यस्काः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the decedents of Yaska.'

॥ यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क. 2. लङ्. 3. वृद्ध. 4. अयस्वल्. 5. अयः स्वल्. 6. तुल्यकर्त्त. 7. सदान्त. 8. कम्बलङ्कार. 9. बह्वर्थाङ्ग. 10. कर्णाटक. 11. पर्वणाटक. 12. पिरडी जङ्ग. 13. बकस्य. 14. यकस्य. 15. विधि. 16. कुट्टि. 17. अजवस्ति. 18. मित्रयु. 19. रत्नोपुल. 20. जङ्गारय. 21. उत्काच. 22. कटुक. 23. नयक. 24. नयक. 25. पुष्करट्. 26. पुष्करसद्. 27. विषपुटः. 28. उपरिपेलल. 29. क्रोष्टुमान. 30. क्रोष्टुमान. 31. क्रोष्टुपाद. 32. क्रोष्टुपाय. 33. श्रीर्वनाय. 34. रत्नरय. 35. पदक. 36. वयुक्. 37. भलन्दन. 38. भडिल. 39. भडिल. 40. भडिल. 41. भडिल.

यज्जोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजोऽजश्च गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुप् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यजोऽदोनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुंसवे बहुषा उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is *luk-elision* of the Gotra affixes यज् (IV. I. 105) and अज् (IV. I. 104) when the word is itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यज् = गार्ग्यैः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्स + अज् = वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वत्सस्य. Similarly, विद + अज् = वैदः (IV. 1. 104); plural विदाः and not वैदाः; similarly और्व singularly; और्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, त्रिवर्गगार्ग्यः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved'; त्रिवैदः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः, वैदः, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यज् = द्वीप्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वीप्याः; here the affix यज् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अज् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यज् and अज् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यस्य कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं, गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं.

Similarly वैदस्य or वैदयोः कुलं = वैदकुलं or विदकुलं.

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or अञ्'? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्गकुलं ।

Why do we say 'singular or dual, ?' Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compounds, these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं .

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्यं which is an अव्ययीभाव compound, meaning गार्ग्यस्य समीपं. Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्ग्यः ।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-
भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-आङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ गोतम आङ्गिरस there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + टक् IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is आत्रयः, the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular औत्सः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, आङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अञ् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes टक् and अञ् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयौ भार्गवौ; plural आत्रयः भृगवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आत्रेय्यः स्त्रियः ।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-
भरतेषु, (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इज विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इञ् (IV., I. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पन्नागारिः is पन्नागारः, there being elision of षट्; so also संशयरेवणाः plural of सान्धरैवणिः; so the plural of यौषिष्ठिरिः is युषिष्ठिरा 'the descendents of Yudhishtira. But वैकिः and पौष्टिः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्ष्यः and पौष्ट्यः.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्यः plural of बालाकिः, इक्ष्तिदायः plural of इक्ष्तिदायिः.

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनिः father, आर्जुनायनः son.

न गोपवनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-वन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + अञ् = गोपवनः; plural गोपवनाः; singular वृक्षः, plural वृक्षाः. The गोपवन &c., belong to Vidādi class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, शिम्बु, बिम्बु, भज्ज, खरय, यवतान, रघवज्ज and रघवर्ज. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंदायाः &c.

तिककितयादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वे, (बहुलुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितयादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुलुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + फिज् = तिकायनिः (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तिकायनयः तिकायनयः + कितवायनयः = तिककितवाः. There is elision of फिज्. So also बांखरिः plural बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95) + भाषहीरयः = बांखरभांहीरयाः; there is elision of इज् (IV. 1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बह्वृक्षरभांहीरयाः 3. उपकलनकाः (औपकायनाः + काभकायनाः. IV. 1. 99, elision of कज्) 4. पकनरकाः (पाककायः + नारकायः.

IV. 1. 95, elision of इञ्). वक्तव्यगुदपरिणद्भाः, 6. उञ्जककुभाः (औञ्जयः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV. 1. 112, then the elision of इञ् and अण्). 7. लङ्गाम्त-
मुखाः (the elision of इञ् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनयः IV. 1. 154 + लांकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of फिञ् and इञ्). 9. भट्टक कपिष्टलाः
(elision of इञ् as in 4). 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णमुद्राः (elision of इञ्). 11.
अग्नेवेश—दासेरकाः (आग्निवेश्यः IV. 1. 105 + दासेरकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of both
यञ् and इञ्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-अदिभ्यः,
अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोलप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे वा
द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c., there is optionally
luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural
whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used
separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enu-
merated in the group of Tika-kitavâdi of the last sūtra. The elision is
invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used
separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, भट्टककपिष्टलाः, कृष्णाजिन-
कृष्णमुद्राः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक
(IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of शामकायनः is लमकाः or शामकायनाः; of
भट्टक is भट्टकाः or भट्टकयः. The plural of कपिष्टलः is कपिष्टलाः or कपिष्टलयः.
The plural of कृष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or कृष्णाजिनयः. The plural of कृष्णमुद्राः
is कृष्णमुद्राः or कृष्णमुद्रयः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option
allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone.
They are as follow :—

1. पण्डारक. 2. अण्डारक. 3. गजुक. 4. सुपर्यक. 5. सुपिट.
6. मधूरकर्ण. 7. खारीजकृष. 8. यलावल. 9. पतञ्जल. 10. कठेरणि. 11.
- कुपीतक. 12. कायकृतल. 13. निदाप. 14. कलशीकपठ. 15. दामकपठ.
16. कृष्णपिंगल. 17. कर्णक. 18. पर्यक. 19. जटिलक. 20. यधिरक.
21. जन्तुक. 22. अमुलोम. 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक. 24. प्रतिलोम. 25. प्रतान.
26. अमभिहित. (27. ष्टारक. 28. उदङ्क. 29. सुधायुक. 30. अवन्धक.
31. पदञ्जल. 32. अनुपद. 33. अपजम्भ. 34. कमक. 35. सेखाम्भ. 36.
- अमन्दक. 37. पिष्टल. 38. असुरकर्ण. 39. मदाप. 40. कदामत्त. 41.
- शामकपठ) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥

अगस्त्य-कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अखो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञञ् बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य
यञासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अल् and वल् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिन्य are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्यः is कुण्डिनाः. The affix अल् (IV. I. 114) after आगस्त्य and the affix वल् (IV. 1. 105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

The च in कुण्डिन्य is indicatory and regulates the accent (IV. 1. 163); the word कुण्डिन्य has udâta on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in आगस्तीयारक्षाला (IV. 1. 89) कौण्डिनारक्षालाः (IV. 2. III.)

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्त्यैर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायास्तु लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (1. 2. 46); as कष्टवितः 'having recourse to pain.' राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुत्रश्च हन्वति = पुत्रीवति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टवितः = कष्टवित &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of : धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as अङ् &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, श्वः ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb अद् 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

Thus अद् + शप् + ति = अस्ति 'he eats'; हन्ति 'he kills'; द्वेष्टि he envies. The Adādi verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adadi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adadi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हृ + शप् + ति = हनति instead of हन्ति. So also, अहिः शवसे instead of शेते. (Rig. V. I. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikarāṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as प्राच्यव् जो देवाः instead of प्राच्यवप् ॥

यङोऽपि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अपि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङो लुग् भवति अपि प्रत्यये परतः, चकारेण बहुलं यङश्च लुक् भवति ननु छन्दसि हति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix शप् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than शप् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुबः 'much cutter' (लोलुब + शप्); पोषुषः 'much purifier' चमीचंसः from चंस 'to drop.' दनीचंसः from चंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84).

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than शप्: thus चाकुनिषी क्षासपीति दुन्दुभिषीवदीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-आदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्व शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs ह 'to sacrifice' and others, there is slu-elision of the Vikarāṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyadi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears.' निनेक्ति from निज् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is slu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति प्रियाणि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of दधाति ।

So also there is ślu-elision of the vikarāṇas after roots other than those belonging to the Juhotyādi class. Thus; प्रणीं विवद्वि, जनिम विवक्ति.

गातिस्याधुर्पाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥

गाति-स्था-धु-पा-भूभ्य, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था धु पा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सिचो लुग् भवति परस्मै पदेषु परतः ॥

धार्तिकम् ॥ गापो ग्रहणे दणपिबत्यो ग्रहणम् ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs गा 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called धु (I. 1. 20), पा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गा is the substitute of दण् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अपात् 'he held,' अपात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गा and पा in the aphorism mean the गा 'to go' (which is the substitute of दण्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and पा 'to drink' and not पा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and पा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अपासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगावातां ग्रामी देवदत्तेन.

विभाषा प्राचेद्शाखासः; ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, प्रा-चेद्-शा-

खासः, (सिचः परस्मै विभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रा चेद् शा खा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपदेषु विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs प्र 'to smell,' चेद् 'to drink,' वा (घो) 'to pare,' द्वा (द्वो) 'to cut,' and चा (चो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada term inations are employed.

Thus अप्रात् or अप्रासीत् 'he smelled;' अपात् or अपासीत् 'he drank;' अवात् or अवासीत् 'he pared,' अद्वात् or अद्वासीत् 'he cut' and अचात् or अचासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अप्रावातां पुंनगरी देवदत्तेन ॥

The root चेद् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-थासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् 'to expand,' and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त् and चाच् of the second person follow.

Thus अत् (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतथाः or अतनिष्टाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly अवात् or अवनिष्ट 'he gave,' अवायाः or अवनिष्टाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तद् and चद् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट वृयच् 'you did expand.'

मान्त्रे घसन्ह्वरणशवृदहाद्, कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मान्त्रे-घस ह्व-रणश-वृ-दह-आत्-वृव-कृ-गमि-जनिभ्यः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान्त्रविषये घस ह्वर शस वृ दह आत् वृच् कृ गमि जनि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य ले लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs चच् 'to eat' हर 'to be crooked,' लय 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' दह 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes, Thus from घस we have अघन in the sentence, अघन् पितरो ऽनी नदन्त पितरो ऽनीतृपन्त पितरः पितरः शुन्धध्वच् (Yajurveda XIX 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb हृ we have आहूर्मित्तस्य त्वच्. From लय we have प्रलङ्घ in the following verse मानः यंसो अरवयो धूर्तिः प्रलङ्घन्तर्यस्य । रघा सोमलङ्घनस्पते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sūtra includes both वृङ् and वृज्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्म जघान् प्रयत्नं पुरस्ताद्विषी नवः सुहो वेन आवाः । सवु ध्वन्या पुना अत्य विद्राः सतह योनि नवतह वि षः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From दह we have आधक् as in सरस्वत्युभिर्नो नेष्टिवस्यो नापस्करिः पर्युता मान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, नित्रः देवानाजुदगादनीकं सवुर्मित्तस्य वरुणस्याग्नेः । आमा द्यावा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्य ह्य ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच् gives us वर्क as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्ति-महाघने परा वग् मारिभृशया । संवर्गं संरिषि जपः ॥ (Rig. VIII. 75. 12).

From कृ we have अकृप् as in the following verse अकृप् कर्म कृप्
कृतः सद्यः वाचा नयौ भुवोः दे वेभ्यः कर्म कृत्वास्तं मेतं सचाभुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47)

From गम we have अगमन्; as in the following verse: घृतेव वत
बहुभिर्वस्यौ स्वेरनि जायुवांसौ अगमन् । दशतनग्निं दशतः घृतं विदधा दीदिवांसं ॥
(Rig. VI. 1. 1)

From जन we have अजन्त as अजन्त वा अस्य दन्ताः This is an example
from the Brâhman literature, as the word जन्त in the sūtra refers also to
the Brâhman literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्य ले लङ् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that
tense-affix (लि) which comes after आच् of the Perfect.

आच् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईचांश्चे 'he endea-
voured.' Here, after the verb ईहाच् all tense-affixes are elided, and the
Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly ऊहांश्चे, ईचांश्चे ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्वापः सुपश्च लुग् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine
termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or
Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र गालादाच् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there',
does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to
तस्याच् 'in that.' So also कृत्वा 'having done' रित्वा &c. Here the case-
affix is elided.

नाव्ययीभावादतोऽमृत्वपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययी-
भावात्, अतः, अम्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तादव्ययीभावादुत्तरस्य सुपो न लुग् भवति, अमादेशस्तु तस्य सुपो भवत्य-
पञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix
after an Avyayi-bhâva compound that ends in अच्, आप्, is the
substitute of its case-affixes, but not went it is the fifth case-
affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the las.
sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have आप् added to the words ending in
short अच्; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1. 6; as उपकुम्भं तिष्ठति 'upakum-
bha is standing'; उपकुम्भं परय 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayibhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is not substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अचिखी, अचिकुमारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अच् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानम्.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्वहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अठययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्वहुलम्भावो भवति अठययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या अट्टि नदी समास संख्यायययो नित्यमिति चकठयम् ॥

84. The change to अच् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निषेहि or उपकुम्भम् निषेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart.—The अच् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II. 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुनद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly सम्मत्तगङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् । The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vartika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डा-रौ रसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुडादेशस्य प्रथमपुरषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च डा रौ रस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौ and रच् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लुट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do,' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have अध्येता, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe रच् कर्ताचि । रचोऽध्येताचे ॥



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